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THE MARPRELATE TRACTS
1588, 1589

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MARPRELATE TRACTS

1588, 1589

EDITED WITH NOTES HISTORICAL AND EXPLANATORY

BY

WILLIAM PIERCE

AUTHOR OF "AN HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION TO THE MARPRELATE TRACTS"

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INSCRIBED

WITH RESPECT AND GRATITUDE

TO

WALTER W. LAW, ESQ.,

BRIARCLIFF MANOR, NEW YORK, U.S.A.,

WHO UNITES WITH THE AUTHOR IN HIS STRONG SENSE OF WHAT RELIGIOUS AND CIVIL LIBERTY ON BOTH SIDES OF THE ATLANTIC OWES TO THE PURITANS, AND NOT LEAST TO THEIR DOUGHTY AND CHIVALROUS APOLOGIST, HIDING, CARELESS OF FAME, BEHIND THE NAME

OF

MARTIN MARPRELATE

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PREFACE

The present volume is the completion of a task which has occupied my leisure for some years, the earlier part of which I have presented to the public in the *Historical Introduction to the Marprelate Tracts*. I now present an annotated edition of the Tracts themselves. The text is given as it stands in the originals, except that the spelling and punctuation have been modernised. Any other liberties taken with the text have been precisely noted as they occur. The pagination or the signatures of the originals are given in the margins. All references to the pages of the Tracts are to the pages in the present volume.

As before, I desire to express my thanks to the keepers of the great public libraries, who have afforded me every facility in my studies. The greater part of my work has been done in the British Museum, to the expert knowledge of whose learned assistants, treasured in the great catalogue and otherwise available in case of need, I am under great obligation. To the Archbishop of Canterbury I am particularly obliged by his permission to transcribe the text of the unique Lambeth copy of the third Tract; the seventh Tract also has been by permission copied from the same collection. I am also under further special obligation to his Grace, and to his learned librarian, the Rev. Claude Jenkins, M.A., for permission to photograph the title pages

of all the Tracts, and also to reproduce the excellent portrait of Archbishop Whitgift. Such kindness worthily illustrates the beneficent progress of Christian charity. Dr. Whitgift would have sent me to the Gatehouse for so much as preferring a request which Dr. Davidson has so courteously granted.

As regards the history of the period and the particular history of the production of the Tracts, and of the controversy which immediately ensued upon their publication, I have to refer my readers to the *Historical Introduction*. There they will also find all that I have to say in regard to the authorship of these writings. In the present volume I have contented myself with a brief historic note prefacing each Tract. As this edition may be used as a book of reference, I have duplicated some of the explanatory notes for the convenience of the reader.

The references in the notes to contemporary literature are, unless otherwise indicated, to the original editions, and for the convenience of the reader in the case of the frequent references to Bishop Cooper's *Admonition*, the page is generally given in Dr. Arber's useful reprint. Neal's *History of the Puritans* is referred to in the edition of 1822 in 5 vols. 8vo; Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, in the edition of Stoughton and Pratt; and Strype's Works in the Oxford 8vo edition, 1822—1828. In references to other works, particulars where needed are given as they occur. The letter *ft* in the foot-notes indicates the original text of the Marprelate Tracts.

I have only to add that I have been greatly helped in various ways by many friends, who have placed their stores of learning and their practical wisdom at my disposal.

One learned and venerable scholar, with whom I have pleasant associations, dating from my early schooldays, and now happily renewed, has shown me most generous kindness. It would have been pleasant to refer to him and my other kind helpers by name.

W. P.

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1. In the year 1584, the year after the elevation of John Whitgift to the archbishopric of Canterbury, there was published anonymously, but bearing the imprint and device of Robert Waldegrave, a small 8vo of 154 pages of long primer, under the title of *A Briefe and Plaine declaration concerning the desires of all those faithfull Ministers, that have and do seeke for the Discipline and reformation of the Church of Englande;* but its popular name was given to it by Waldegrave, who added the running headline 'A Learned Discourse of Ecclesiastical Governement.' Tradition, with

what basis of authority I am unable to say, has long attributed its authorship to Dr. William Fulke, Master of Pembroke Hall, as then it was, a famous anti-papal controversialist in his day, and chiefly known by his defence of the English translations of the Bible against the Rhemists. If Fulke be indeed the author of the *Learned Discourse*, then we can readily understand why he chose to publish it anonymously; and if the ecclesiastical authorities suspected him of being the author we can also understand why so capable a man should not be promoted to high office, in a day when John Bullingham, Marmaduke Middleton, John Scory, Hugh Curwen and the like were esteemed eligible for the episcopate.

The *Learned Discourse* became popular because of its merits. It set forth the arguments of the 'seekers after discipline and reformation' with admirable lucidity and conciseness. The common folk could understand the writer's contention that the Church of Christ being a 'household' needed not prelates but household officers. They felt the cogency of the warning against following the example of 'the kings of the Gentiles,' and of Diotrephes, whose special sin was that 'he was Philoproteuon, one that desired the primacie in the Church.' The ambition of the sons of Zebedee was cited as an example of how men imperilled their place in the 'household of the faith' by lusting for power and preëminence. When men, with the New Testament in their hands, were directed to the little child placed in the midst of the jealous aspirants for the apostolic headship, and to the sacred example of Christ washing His disciples' feet, they easily passed judgment on those who unceasingly wrote obsequious letters to all supposed to have the ear of the Queen, beseeching their help to gain preferment; and on such ecclesiastical princes as Archbishop Whitgift riding at the head of his gorgeous cavalcade of palace officers and retainers. What if the little child had been placed in the great hall at Lambeth

when the Primate was being served 'on the knee'? The writer of the *Learned Discourse* could remind the prelates how they had reproved the swollen pride of the Papacy by hurling against it the great utterance 'You have but one Master which is Christ, and all you are brethren.' But it was now they who were claiming prelatical superiority over their ministerial brethren. In like manner the writer urges the elementary right of a Christian congregation to choose its own pastor; the right of the Church as against the bishops to exercise discipline over its members, as is assumed in the admonition 'Tell it to the Church'; and also to check the action of its officers by insisting that no decision can have valid authority until it be confirmed by the Church.

2. Its onslaught on the established order was thought to be so effective that Dean Bridges of Salisbury was appointed to reply to the *Learned Discourse*. This he did first in a sermon delivered at Paul's Cross, and next by expanding and elaborating the sermon into a large volume of over fourteen hundred pages quarto, divided into sixteen books, one of which was directed against *The Judgment of a most Reverend and Learned Man from beyond the Seas*—the English translation of a letter written by Theodore Beza, Calvin's successor at Geneva. The rest of the volume was more or less concerned with the *Learned Discourse*. Bridges' volume was answered after the usual grave manner by Dudley Fenner and also presumably by John Penry (see p. 402, *note* (2)). But something more was wanted in this unequal warfare. The 'seekers after reformation' had no pulpit open to them, the Press was strictly censored against them, their chief men were in gaol, and most of them reduced to poverty.

3. Then it was in the great year 1588 that Martin Marprelate came forth to attack the official champion of the bishops, with new weapons, and compelled the attention of all classes of the community. There was a piquancy no

doubt in the spectacle of a satirical humourist of the first order undertaking the defence of men who for the most part were innocent of all joking, whose demeanour was of the gravest, whose religious life was habitually solemn and at this time was the more austere by reason of the sorrows they were called upon to endure. And the fact is that large numbers of them repudiated their voluntary champion. They preferred the gravity and dulness of their persecutors as exemplified in Dean Bridges' *Defence* and Bishop Cooper's *Admonition*, to the pungent wit and the satirical invective of Martin Marprelate. It was only men like quaint Giles Wigginton, the life-long victim of Whitgift's vindictive hate, men themselves endowed with some natural humour, who heartily approved of the unknown champion's philippic against the bishops.

4. It is unnecessary to repeat the history of the *Marprelate Tracts*, but it will help us rightly to estimate their value and their place in the religious controversies of the age in which they appeared, if we enquire on what grounds, expressed or implied, Martin Marprelate entered into the fray; for the most superficial reader will see that beneath his humour and his mischievous gossip he is fiercely in earnest, indeed the substratum of his righteous anger not infrequently outcrops to the surface.

(i) It is necessary in the first place to remember that the men represented by Marprelate's serious contention were not conscious Separatists. They had not the daring and commanding logic of Robert Browne, the father of Separatism, who must claim with Richard Hooker to be one of the two English ecclesiologists whose writings are of permanent significance for our Church history. It was their failure that made Marprelate's clients in a later generation Separatists. For the time, though they felt that a cruel Mother had driven them from their natural home, they cherished the thought that it was their home. Though they refused to attend their parish churches, when and

because that which they esteemed to be Popery was introduced into their worship; though they surreptitiously held their *classes* and indulged in the secret and dangerous luxury of Presbyterian worship and fellowship, yet they were not conscious that the Church of England could be otherwise than their Church. The assumption of their persecutors, as a matter of fact, was identical with their own instinctive view. They were to be compelled by law, and by bitter ecclesiastical ordinances, which were not English law, to belong to the established system, whether they would or not. The representation of Anglican critics that these 'seekers after discipline and reformation' were officiously endeavouring to change the character of somebody else's Church entirely obscures the issue.

(ii) Moreover the Puritans were encouraged in their propaganda by what they considered to be the tentative character of the reforms already effected. This belief was fostered in the commencement of Elizabeth's reign. Such was the hope of the returning exiles. So they wrote confidentially when the Queen insisted on the proviso that, though the conference appointed should choose the later and more Protestant of Edward's two Prayer Books, the 'ornaments' authorised in the earlier book should be retained, 'until it please the Queen to take other order for them' (1). In the Preface to the *Advertisements* issued at the Queen's command by Archbishop Parker in 1565, after disavowing that the rules prescribed therein are 'equivalent with the Eternal Word of God,' we have the assurance that they are merely 'rules in some part of Discipline concerning decency distinction and order for the time.' It was only when that hope, revived on the accession of James I. and expressed in the Millenary Petition presented to him, utterly expired, that the Puritans in increasing numbers felt that the logic of their position led them to Separatism.

(iii) The Puritans were conscious that for high political

(1) Parker's Correspondence, p. 65; 1 Eliz. c. 2, sec. 5.

reasons, good or bad, a certain restraint was put on those who would reform the Church. Those Roman Catholics who held resolutely to their faith were not in themselves a dangerous element in the community. Their attempts in Norwich, in the west, and in the northern parts to raise a rebellion were contemptible exhibitions. But in conjunction with the designs of the Catholic powers of France and Spain, and the intrigues of the Vatican, they might add considerably to the national peril. But there was a general expectation among the reformers that when the country was strong enough to defy the Armada it was time to doff the habits of the enemy and, careless of consequences, to weed out the remaining superstitions surviving from the Roman dominion —the interrogations and the sign of the Cross in baptism, kneeling at Communion, and the like, as well as the distinctive vestments of Rome.

(iv) In their contention they were strongly of opinion that the mass of the nation was with them. They even cherished the belief that the Queen was in her heart favourable to the anti-papal protest. They did not forget that she was the daughter of Henry and Anne Boleyn, whose very birth symbolised the breach with the Papacy. They realised that already she had given substantial proof that, although she was prepared to walk circumspectly, neither she nor her realm were again to be subject to the Roman obedience. It is true that a seasoned old dissimulator like Guzman, the Spanish Ambassador, who had reduced diplomatic lying to a very fine art, was hoodwinked atrociously when Elizabeth put her hand upon her heart and vowed that if the Holy Father could but look into her secret mind he would see that she was a true Catholic. In furtherance of her diplomacy she could introduce the little silver cross into her private chapel and show a greater severity towards recalcitrant Protestant Nonconformists. But the fact remained that the nation was moving away from, and not towards, Rome. So in all the Puritan writings we find

the statement that if the Queen but knew how her loyal Protestant subjects were being mishandled by the Bishops, she would graciously interfere for their protection. I do not gather from their writings that they founded their judgment upon any known evidence of her evangelical views, except so far as they assumed their own position was the logical consequence of her opposition to the doctrine and dominion of Rome. They rather rested upon the conviction of her womanly, or rather motherly, compassion and her solicitude for all her subjects.

(v) Whether they were right in holding as Marprelate also held, that the bulk of the nation desired with them a more complete purification of the ceremonial of the Church from all vestiges of the Roman ritual is a question which needs to be freshly examined. The interested conjectures of Catholic recusants who divided the country into three parts and claimed two for the Pope seem to be eminently unreliable data upon which to base a sound judgment. The great unpopularity of Mary and of Bonner, the chief agent in her barbarous policy of persecution, is a fact which cannot be doubted. Mary the people regarded with cold and sullen aversion. Bonner, equally notorious for his luxurious life and his inhuman cruelty, was to them the embodiment of Romanism; and him they openly execrated. The demand for a change in the national religion was too fierce to be denied, even had Elizabeth been inclined to follow her sister. And as an indication of the sentiments of the people at large, the sympathy of Elizabeth's parliaments with the reformers cannot be overlooked. Moreover the testimony of the martyrdoms to the wide prevalence of Protestant convictions has not, as it would seem to me, been properly estimated. A man must hold what he believes to be the truth with a deep conviction to be willing to be burnt alive rather than deny it. And for one who went to the stake there would be a score recanting through fear, and a still greater number who were not called upon to recant

because they kept their heretical views secret. If, in the ruthless years of the Marian persecution, Kent had fifty-four Protestant witnesses who suffered at the stake—that number embracing men and women, and rich and poor—it seems fair to assume that at the death of Edward, Kent must have been substantially a Protestant county. But to this we must add the influence of the martyrdoms upon public opinion. So careful and authoritative a writer as Prof. A. E. Pollard can say that they 'stamped on the English mind a hatred, unthinking, ferocious and almost indelible, of Rome and all its belongings.' We cannot therefore be far wrong in supposing that at the death of Mary the county of Kent contained very little Catholicism. And though the martyrdoms were almost confined to London and the nearer division of the Midlands, together with the country lying immediately to the east and south of the metropolis, their testimony to the extent of Protestantism at the death of Edward is very weighty, and their influence in extending Protestant views during the reign of Mary was very great. It is by no means improbable that the reformers were right in their assumption that the bulk of the nation desired that the worship of the Church as well as its doctrine should be freed from all taint of Romanism.

(vi) The Puritans were no doubt incited to attack the bishops because they judged them to be grossly inconsistent. They were all of them pronounced anti-papalists. It may be alleged that men like Kitchin and Curwen could have had no convictions worth regarding, they had professedly changed their views so often; but even they outwardly united with rest of the bishops in regarding the Pope as antichrist. The earlier of the Elizabethan bishops would gladly have abolished the papal vestments and the ceremonies which savoured of Popery. The most commanding figure among them, John Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury and author of the *Apology*, has described the contention for the vestments in unforgettable phrases. Familiar as they are to

all students, let them be here repeated. Writing to Peter Martyn sometime early in 1559 he says—

> 'The scenic apparatus of divine worship is now under agitation; and those very things which you and I have so often laughed at, are now seriously and solemnly entertained by certain persons (for *we* are not consulted), as if the christian religion could not exist without something tawdry.' (*Zur. Letters*, I., p. 23.)

And later, in February, 1562, in another letter to Martyn he says—

> 'Now that the full light of the gospel has shone forth, the very vestiges of error must, as far as possible, be removed together with the rubbish, and, as the saying is, with the very dust. And I wish we could effect this in respect to that linen surplice: for as to matters of doctrine we have pared every thing away to the very quick, and do not differ from your doctrine by a nail's breadth.' (*Ibid.*, p. 100.)

Dr. Edwin Sandys on April 30th, 1559, writes hopefully concerning the Queen's proviso to retain, along with the Prayer Book of 1552, the 'ornaments' which were used in the first and second year of King Edward's reign. He anticipates a certain toleration and that 'we,' he and those that thought with him, no doubt including Dr. Matthew Parker, to whom his letter was directed, should 'not be forced to use them.' Parker we know dealt harshly with all who held benefices and refused to conform, but only on the ground that conformity was an obligation imposed by the law of the land. Yet in one of his last letters his own view of such matters is placed beyond controversy. His communication is addressed to Burghley, and in it he says—

> 'Does your lordship think I care either for cap, tippet, surplice, or wafer-bread, or any such? But for the

> laws so established I esteem them . . . . If I, you, or any other named "great papists" should so favour the pope or his religion that we should pinch Christ's true gospel, woe be unto us.'—*Parker Correspondence* (April 11th, 1575), p. 479.

But the intensity of the anti-catholic views of the Church established under Elizabeth, if by 'Church' we mean the living persons comprising it, and regard the utterances of its chief men as evidence of its belief, is apt to be underestimated. Let us realise that to these representative clergy the Pope, or the Church of Rome as a whole, was indeed the antichrist. Bishop Jewel, referring to Elizabeth's unwillingness to be addressed as "head of the Church" says that 'these titles have been so foully contaminated by antichrist, that they can no longer be adopted by any one without impiety.' (*Zur. Letters*, I., 33.) Richard Cox, afterwards Bishop of Ely, a stout defender of the English Prayer Books during the 'troubles at Frankfort' writes with elation on May 20th, 1559, to Wolfgang Weidner of Worms—

> 'Meanwhile we, that little flock, who for these last five years, by the blessing of God, have been hidden among you in Germany, are thundering forth in our pulpits, and especially before our queen Elizabeth, that the Roman pontiff is truly antichrist, and that traditions are for the most part mere blasphemies.'—*Zur. Letters*, I., 27.

> Bishop Scory, in his *Epistle*, prays that God would 'confounde all the proude, beastly, and devilishe enterprises of Antichristes garde, that doo imagine nothing els but y^e^ subversion of the Gospell of Christ.' —White's *Eliz. Bishops*, p. 16.

Archbishop Whitgift in entering for the degree of Doctor of Divinity took for his thesis 'That the Pope is

Antichrist,' and there is not the slightest reason to believe that he ever changed his mind on that point.

(vii) In connection with the great controversy to which the Marprelate Tracts are related, two volumes were issued by the bishops, expressing their common views, written and supervised by the chief of them, including the Archbishop of Canterbury. There can be no question, judged by these officially endorsed works, as to the definitely anti-Roman, and most positively Protestant, character of the Church established by Elizabeth. The first of these volumes is the *Defence* of Dean Bridges of Salisbury. A quotation from its pages distinguishing the two classes of opponents assailing the established order, the Papists and the Puritans, will sufficiently illustrate the case.

> 'The controuersies betweene the common adversaries [the Papists] and vs, are *pro Aris et focis;* for matters, and that capitall matters, of the substance and life of our Christian religion; not trifles, as some newtrals would beare the people in hande. And therefore our aduersaries, in matters of religion, are incensed against vs with mortall, or rather, with immortall hatred. Whereas the controversies betwixt vs and our Brethren [the Puritans] are matters, or rather (as they call them) but manners, and formes of the Churches regiment [rule] . . . . . the Papists from whose grosse errors in doctrine we both dissent, and against whome, in the vnitie and substance of Gods truth we both agree' (Preface, 43, *rect et vers*).

And the very definite view of the Prelates about the Mass may be given from the same work. Dean Bridges after speaking of the devil tempting Eve, proceeds—

> 'The like practice hath he often used since, by his *diuelish Ministers and instruments;* so did he by the Masse, which is of some called well the *Horse of Troy*, that had so many fierce and bloody captaines

> even within it . . . . or the very *Iesabel of the Roman Achab*, that painted her face, and trimmed her heade, using her whoredomes and witchcraftes with the murdering of so many saintes and prophets of God.'—*Defence*, p. 649.

The second official volume is Bishop Cooper's *Admonition*, an even more carefully considered statement of the doctrine of the Elizabethan Church, given thirty years after its establishment, written by Cooper, in conference with Archbishop Whitgift and several other bishops and containing the personal statements of Whitgift, Aylmer, Young and Cooper himself in reply to Marprelate, besides a general exposition of the doctrine and ceremonies of the Church as established. The *Admonition*, like the *Defence*, declares that the Puritans 'in doctrine agree with the present state' (p. 30 ; Arber, p. 27). And Whitgift in his special defence, replying (in the third person) to the allegation that 'there was no great jarre betvveene the Papistes and the Archbishop in matters of Religion,' says 'I think *Martin* him selfe doubteth not of the Archbishops soundnesse in such matters of Religion, as are in controuersie betwixt the Papists and vs' (p. 43 ; Arber, p. 35). In regard to the 'external government and other outward orders' Cooper claims for the Church of England the liberty enjoyed by the foreign Reformed Churches, to choose such as they thought 'in wisedome and godlinesse to bee most conuenient for the state of the countrey, and disposition of the people.' There is no claim on behalf of 'an historic episcopate'; episcopacy is only defended as an expedient system (p. 76 ; Arber, pp. 64, 65). The priests of the Church of England are, he declares, 'Priestes of Gods holy, blessed, and true Church, and yet that they are not such sacrificing Priests of God as are mentioned' in the laws of Moses (p. 166 ; Arber, 124). Equally definite is the statement on Apostolic Succession. 'That our Bishops and Ministers do not challenge [claim] to holde by

succession, it is most euident: their whole doctrine and preaching is contrary' (p. 186; Arber, 137). Cooper claims, in the name of its bishops, that the Church represents the views of the Marian Martyrs, and that its doctrines are set forth authoritatively in Nowell's *Catechism* and Jewel's *Apology*.

(viii) All this was present to the mind of the Puritans; they admitted the bishops' claim that their doctrine was in the main irreproachable from the Evangelical standpoint. They also saw that the same essential theology was contained in the *Book of Homilies* reissued by Elizabeth. Even more significant was the formal statements of the creed of the Church as set forth in the Thirty-Nine Articles of 1562. It lay beyond the comprehension of Conformist or Reformer that, against the overwhelming testimony of those engaged in establishing the reformed Church, its early authoritative preachers and apologists, and its formal declarations, there should be posed a rubric which ambiguously directed what clothes the clergy should wear. They had too great a sense of the dignity of a Christian Church to suppose it could be founded upon a sartorial direction—a proviso added to the definitely Protestant service-book of 1552, by personal command of the Queen, who cared nothing for doctrine, but much for a pompous and richly-coloured ceremonial. The strong contention of the Puritan, and also of Bishop Jewel, was, that the Church, so definitely Evangelical in doctrine, should be made consistent. Having discarded the Mass, the nation should not perpetuate the Pope in the person of Whitgift, nor dress their ministers in the garments of the Church that burnt the martyrs and excommunicated the Queen. It was notorious that Elizabeth's early bishops were strongly averse to the 'relics of the Amorites.' Strype says that—

> 'The first bishops that were made, and who were but newly returned out of their exiles, as Cox, Grindal,

> Horne, Sandys, Jewel, Parkhurst, Bentham, upon their first returns, before they entered upon their ministry, laboured all they could against receiving into the Church the papistical habits, and that all the ceremonies should be clean laid aside.'—*Annals*, I., i., 263.

The seekers after reformation did but continue at great self-sacrifice that protest.

5. In so unequal a battle the foibles and public inconsistencies, and in some cases the notorious faults of the persecuting bishops, and the unfitness of many of the clergy ordained by them, were considered a fair mark for Martin's satire and his contemptuous exposure. Much hard writing has been expended on this feature of the Marprelate Tracts. No doubt it is difficult to be just in writing of these matters, difficult not only for the inheritors of Nonconformist traditions to measure their aversion from the harsh and illegal proceedings of persecutors such as Whitgift and Aylmer, but difficult also for the apologists of the prelates to pay allegiance to the common instincts of humanity, and to revere the paramount authority of conscience amidst the dust and heat and the provocations of ecclesiastical strife.

Mr. W. H. Frere, of the Mirfield Community of Anglican monks, who was given my earlier volume to examine in the critical pages of the *English Historical Review* complains that I have taken for granted all the unfavourable stories about the bishops. He professes to give me a better example by dubbing them all in the lump slanders (1). I have taken some years, as a matter of fact, to examine these charges and to make myself better acquainted with the Elizabethan bishops. I may say, after Martin's manner, that their worst enemies would not accuse them of being a very high-minded body of men. But the chief persons accused have themselves examined the charges alleged

(1) Giles Wigginton in the record of his examination before Whitgift writes, 'They sayed there were many lies in Martin, but G. W. bad(e) them confute him then.'—*Second Parte of a Register*.

against them and have replied (either personally or through their chosen scribe, Bishop Cooper of Winchester), in the *Admonition*, or else in the anti-Marprelate writings of Nash, Lilly, and the authors of *An Almond for a Parrat, Mar-Martine, Martins Months Mind*, and some other pamphlets. And I could imagine in this connection no better service rendered to the cause of truth than for Mr. Frere, who has already given to the world a volume of *Puritan Manifestos*, to issue a companion volume of *Episcopalian Manifestos* taken from the writings of Tom Nash and his coadjutors that men might the more easily see the sweet stuff which the bishops thought fit to be published in their defence. I have myself examined carefully the official replies contained in Bishop Cooper's *Admonition*, and so far as I have been able have given the episcopal defence as a footnote to the page on which the accusation appears, and I have a strong suspicion that the indifferent reader will find the defence more fatal to the reputations of certain bishops than any scandalmongering on the part of Martin Marprelate. But if Mr. Frere and the writers employed by The Church Historical Society have a mind to vindicate the character of the accused prelates, let them take in hand the Rev. F. O. White's volume, *Lives of the Elizabethan Bishops*. Mr. White very clearly does not write in the interests of Puritanism. His work is based upon wide original research among contemporary manuscripts and authorities. There is nothing unclerical in his treatment of the subject if we set aside the uncharitable opinion that it is unclerical to tell the truth about these prelates, eminent or otherwise, both when it favours them and also when it condemns. And in the same just spirit Mr. White deals with the masterful and fateful interference of Elizabeth in ecclesiastical affairs.

6. The Tracts here presented to the reader are, as I have already stated, part of a chapter in the evolution of liberty, ecclesiastical and civil. State establishments of religion are naturally arrogant and intolerant. On the other hand, all

suffering for conscience' sake leads to intellectual liberty and toleration. It exhibits the folly of attempting to coerce the conscience, the regal rights of which it at the same time proclaims. John Rogers, the Marian protomartyr, learnt the lesson of religious liberty in the shadow of the stake. John Penry learnt the same truth in the same hard way. The Marprelate Tracts mark a stage in the Whitgiftian persecution, when the victims could testify that 'fire and faggot,' the chief arguments of the bishops, were not adequate to persuade men against their convictions. I am only too well aware from the reviews of the first section of my work how all the crimes against humanity are condoned on the immoral principle that every act is to be judged according to the fluctuating moral standard of the age in which it occurs; the moral standard being fixed by a consensus of the crimes actully perpetrated in that age. Good men and women when Elizabeth came to the throne branded Bonner with the name of 'butcher.' But they forsooth were wrong, since the moral standard operative a few months earlier palliated the roasting alive of ecclesiastical opponents. No one in the past is to be condemned for the inhumanities of religious persecution. Indeed the only persons to blame are the Elizabethan Puritans, who, it is true, did not actually persecute, but, we are assured, would have done so had they had the chance. Yet I recognise a difference between the rule of Mary and the rule of Elizabeth. I have contended in these pages that the Church on the accession of Elizabeth went through a fundamental change. What argument could so conclusively prove that the new Church was not the old Catholic Church as it is proved by the simple fact that the unspeakable Bonner was allowed to die in bed?

THE MARPRELATE TRACTS

I. THE EPISTLE

Printed at the house of Mrs. Crane, at East Molesey,
circa Oct. 15, 1588

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

1. THE EPISTLE is a small quarto of 52 pages, in a handsome Black Letter, called at the time a 'Dutch Letter.'

It was secretly printed at the house of Mrs. Crane, at East Molesey, on the Thames, a couple of miles above Kingston. Mrs. Crane's principal residence was in Aldermanbury, where she provided a refuge for the persecuted and needy Puritans of that time. To Aldermanbury Robert Waldegrave, the Puritan printer, fled with a couple of boxes of type when his house was raided in April, 1588. About midsummer of that year Waldegrave occupied the house at East Molesey, and was busily engaged during the subsequent months in printing controversial pamphlets by Udall and Penry, and also the first Marprelate Tract known as THE EPISTLE. The director of the secret press was John Penry, who acted as proof reader of THE EPISTLE. The tract came into circulation about the middle of October. The press was removed from Molesey before November 1st, its next resting place being Fawsley House, in Northamptonshire, the residence of Sir Richard Knightley.

2. The particular controversy to which THE EPISTLE was a contribution began with the publication of *A briefe and plaine declaration*—not to be confounded, as has been so generally done, with Walter Travers' tract *A full and plaine declaration*—a small 8vo. pamphlet of 154 pages, known commonly as the *Learned Discourse*, issued in support of the Puritan reform movement in 1584. So popular was the *Learned Discourse* that the ecclesiastical authorities appointed Dr. John Bridges, Dean of Salisbury, to preach against it at Paul's Cross during Whitsuntide, 1585. During the next two years Bridges expanded his sermon into

a large quarto volume of 1400 pages and more. It was published in 1587 under the title of *A Defence of the government established in the Church of Englande for ecclesiasticall matters*. An answer appeared the same year from the pen of the well-known reforming minister Dudley Fenner, though his name did not appear upon the title-page. It was entitled *A Defence of the Godlie Ministers*. It was included in Waldegrave's collection *A Parte of a Register* under Fenner's name. The next year, 1588, appeared a second reply, also anonymous, entitled *A Defence of the Ecclesticall Discipline*, which Marprelate seems to suggest was written by John Penry (see THE PROTESTATYON, *supra*, 402, *n.*[2]).

3. The memorable response to Dean Bridges' work, however, is Martin Marprelate's series of Tracts, and especially the two first, THE EPISTLE and THE EPITOME, which are in form a single work, with almost identical title-pages. No book or pamphlet of that age ever appeared without its introductory 'epistle' addressed to the reader—impartial, courteous, Christian, or otherwise. Martin sets out to write an 'Epitome' of the First Book of Bridges' voluminous *Defence*. As there was a delay in completing his task, he issues his introductory Epistle separately. It is the present Tract. When later he issues his promised Epitome, it could not appear nakedly without an accompanying introductory chapter, notwithstanding that the Epistle proper had already been published. He, however, calls this further preface in his descriptive headline, 'The Second Epistle to the Terrible Priests.' The reader need only to be warned that, although thus formally distinguished, and separately published, EPISTLE and EPITOME are continuous answers to Bridges' work.

The external history of this and the subsequent writings of Martin Marprelate, and the effect they had on the course of religious controversy and ecclesiastical administration, have been fully dealt with in the Author's earlier volume, *An Historical Introduction to the Marprelate Tracts* (Constable & Co., 1908).

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4. None to be molested because of this Tract; or for refusing to kneel at the Lord's Supper; or for resorting to other churches when there are no preachers in their own 80

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OH READ OVER DR. JOHN BRIDGES, FOR IT IS A WORTHY WORK.

Or an Epitome of the

First Book of that right worshipful Volume, written against the Puritans, in the defence of the noble Clergy, by as worshipful a priest, John Bridges, Presbyter, Priest or Elder, Doctor of Divility and Dean of Sarum. Wherein the arguments of the Puritans are wisely prevented, (1) that when they come to answer Master Doctor they must needs say something that hath been spoken.

Compiled for the behoof and overthrow of the Parsons, Vicars, and Curates, (2) that have learnt their Catechisms, and are past Grace: (3) By the reverend and worthie Martin Marprelate, Gentleman, and dedicated to the Convocation-House.

The Epitome is not yet published, but it shall be when the Bishops are at convenient leisure to view the same. (4) In the meantime, let them be content with this learned Epistle.

Printed oversea, in Europe, within two furlongs of a Bouncing Priest, at the cost and charges of Martin Marprelate, gentleman.

(1) Anticipated.
(2) MM. Fyckers and currats.
(3) Past the section of the Catechism which treats of 'Grace.'
(4) It is part of the *badinage* of Martin to describe, and that at some length, the present tract ah THE EPITOME, &c., only to inform us later that THE EPITOME is not yet ready.

15-16

Oh read ouer D. Iohn Bridges/ for it is a worthy worke:

Or an epitome of the fyrſte Booke/ of that right worſhipfull volume/ written against the Puritanes/ in the defence of the noble clearge/ by as worſhipfull a prieſte/ Iohn Bridges/ Preſbyter/ Prieſt or elder/ Doctor of Diuilitie/ and Deane of Sarum. Wherein the arguments of the puritans are wiſely preuented/ that when they come to answere Mr. Doctor/ they muſt needes ſay ſomething that hath bene ſpoken.

Compiled for the behoofe and ouerthrow of the Parſons/ Fykers/ and Currats/ that haue lernt their Catechiſmes/ and are paſt grace: By the reuerend and worthie Martin Marprelate gentleman/ and dedicated to the Conforatianhouſe.

The Epitome is not yet publiſhed/ but it ſhall be when the Biſhops are at conuenient leyſure to view the ſame. In the meane time/ let them be content with this learned Epiſtle.

Printed ouerſea/ in Europe/ within two furlongs of a Bounſing Weſt/ at the coſt and charges of Mr Marprelate/ gentleman.

AN EPISTLE TO THE TERRIBLE PRIESTS

To the right puissant and terrible Priests, my clergy masters of the Confocation-house, whether Fickers-General, worshipful Paltripolitans, or any other of the Holy League of Subscription: this work I recommend unto them with all my heart, with a desire to see them all so provided for one day, as I would wish, which I promise them shall not be at all to their hurt.

Right poison'd (1), persecuting and terrible priests: The theme of mine Epistle unto your venerable masterdoms is of two parts (and the Epitome of our Brother Bridges' book shall come out speedily).

First, Most pitifully complaining, Martin Marprelate &c.

Secondly, May it please your good Worships, &c. (2).

'Most pitifully complaining,' therefore, you are to understand that Dean Bridges hath written in your defence, a most senseless book, and I cannot very often at one breath come to a full point, when I read the same (3).

Again, 'May it please you' to give me leave to play the dunce (4) for the nonce, as well as he; otherwise dealing with Master Doctor's book, I cannot keep *decorum personæ* (5).

And, May it please you, if I be too absurd in any place (either in this Epistle, or that Epitome), to ride to Sarum, and thank his Deanship for it. Because, I could not deal with his book commendably, according to order, unless I should be sometimes tediously duncical (6) and absurd.

(1) This is thought to be a passable pun on the word 'puissant.'

(2) These two phrases were the conventional opening words of the petitions, which, in days when legal justice was scarce, were continually being presented to those in authority praying for relief or redress.

(3) Bridges indulges on occasion in interminably long sentences.

(4) Always printed 'Duns' in these Tracts, indicating its derivation from the name of the schoolman Duns Scotus; himself, it need hardly be said, by no means a dunce.

(5) Martin must play the fool, so as to be in keeping with the Doctor's book.

(6) M. 'dunsticall.' 'It is made a great difference among dunsticall doctors between *noster magister* and *magister noster*.'—Fulke, *Def. of the Eng. Bible*. Parker Soc. 568.

For I have heard some clergymen say that Master Bridges was a very patch (1) and a dunce when he was in Cambridge. And some say, saving your reverence that are bishops, that he is as very a knave and enemy unto the sincerity of religion, as any Popish prelate in Rome. But the patch can do the cause of sincerity no hurt. Nay, he hath in this book wonderfully graced the same by writing against it. For I have heard some say that whosoever will read his book shall as evidently see the goodness of the cause of
2 Reformation, and the poor, poor, poor naked | ness of your [church] government, as almost in reading all Master Cartwright's works (2). This was a very great oversight in his Grace of Cant[erbury] (3) to suffer such a book to come out. For besides that an archbishop is very weakly defended by Mass Dean, he hath also by this means provoked many to write against his gracious Fatherhood, who perhaps, never meant to take pen in hand. And, Brother Bridges, mark what Martin tells you. You will shortly, I hope, have twenty fists about your ears more than your own (4). Take heed of writing against the Puritans, while you live! Yet they say that his Grace would not have the book to be published; and, if you mark, you shall not find 'Seen and allowed' in the title of his book.

Well fare, old Mother Experience, yet! The burnt child dreads the fire. His Grace will carry to his grave, I warrant you, the blows which Master Cartwright gave him in this cause; and therefore no marvel though he was loth

(1) A fool. Dexter suggests a derivation from the Italian *'pazzo;* but pazzo rather connotes the idea of a madman.

(2) For the controversy between Cartwright and Whitgift, see *Historical Introduction*, chap. I., sec. II., §§ 4, 5; pp. 40—51.

(3) Martin always implies a satirical pun in using the abbreviation 'Cant.,' especially when addressing Whitgift as John of Cant.

(4) The Bishops insisted upon interpreting this phrase perversely. 'So the Anabaptists, vvithin our memory, after slaunderous and opprobious calumniations against the godly preachers and magistrates then liuing, fell to blovves and open violence. The libeller in this booke hath performed the one and threatned the other.'—Bp. Cooper's *Admonition*, p. 51. The literary hacks employed by the Bishops later were instructed to employ the same tactics. See Martin's protest in HAY ANY WORKE, Introd. Epistle, p. 217; also p. 246.

to have any other so banged as he [then] was, to his woe (1). Others say that John Cant. oversaw every 'proof.' If he did, then he oversaw many a foul solecism, many a senseless period, and far more slanders. Slanders, my friends? I think so. For what will you say if our brother, Bridges, and our cousin, Cosins, with many others have had their grace *ad practicandum* in Flanders (2)? How could their

(1) The Puritans never doubted that Whitgift relinquished the controversy over the *Admonition to Parliament*, because Cartwright was too learned and dexterous an opponent for him. This, Martin suggests, might explain the Archbishop's reluctance to have Bridges' book published, if the rumour to that effect were true. Others, as Martin goes on to say, alleged, and it would appear with truth, that Whitgift revised the printer's proofs. Of course, the reluctance to license and the proof-reading might both be true. Whitgift replied on both points as follows: 'God be thanked, he neuer felt blowe giuen by him or any other in that cause, except the blovves of their despitefull and malitious tongues, vvhich notvvithstanding hee contemneth, remembring how true it is that Hierome saith, *Istæ machinæ hereticorum sunt, vt convicti de perfidia ad maledicta se conferant.* When heretikes are conuinced of falsehood and vntrueths, their shift is to flee to railing and slandering. . . . He did indeed peruse *Doctor Bridges* booke before it went to the Presse, and hee knovveth that the sufficiencie thereof causeth these men to storme, as not being able otherwise to answere it: which maketh them so bitterly to inueigh against his person. . . . The desire of disputation is but a vaine brag: they haue bene disputed and conferred with oftener then [than] either the worthiness of their persons or cause did require. Wherin their inability to defend such a cause hath manifestlie appeared.'—Bp. Cooper's *Admonition*, pp. 38, 39.

The conferences referred to by Whitgift must have been those held before himself sitting on the High Commission, or in the Star Chamber; or by his deputies who visited the unbending Puritans filling the London prisons at this time. It was one long complaint of the Puritans that they never could get a Conference with their ecclesiastical opponents. Once only Whitgift yielded to the clamorous demand when he held a Conference at Lambeth which lasted two days, Dec. 10th and 12th, 1584. On the first day the Archbishop had with him the Bishop of Winchester, and there were present the Earl of Leicester, Lord Gray, and Sir Francis Walsingham; the Archbishop of York and the Lord Treasurer Burghley were added on the second day. The Puritan controversialists were Dr. Thomas Sparke and Walter Travers. The latter had recently been rejected from the mastership of the Temple, though chosen by the benchers and commended by Burghley, through the strenuous efforts of Whitgift, who represented to the Queen that Travers, among other things, 'contemned the Book of Common Prayer.' The need of revising the Book of Common Prayer was the stated subject of the Conference. The discussion was chiefly notable on the first day by Whitgift's reckless assertion that the Apocrypha was part of the Holy Scripture and contained no error; and on the second day by his receiving at the hands of Sparke what Martin calls the *non plus*, which is more particularly referred to in the present Tract, p. 87, where in a note Whitgift's defence is quoted from Cooper's *Admonition*. Whitgift had evidently no mind for any further conferences with the reforming party.

(2) There is no ground for believing that Bridges and Cosins had their licence to preach in Flanders; though several of the leading Puritans, Walter Travers among the number, received their ordination at the hands of the

government stand, unless they should slander their brethren, and make her Majesty believe that the church government prescribed in the Word would overthrow her regiment [rule], if it were received into our Church; and that 'Seekers of Reformation' are a sort of Malcontents, and enemies unto the State (1).

Item: May it please your worthy Worships to receive this courteously to favour at my hand, without choler or laughing. For my Lord of Winchester is very choleric and peevish; so are his betters at Lambeth. And Doctor Cosins hath a very good grace in jesting; and I would he had a little more grace, and a handful or two more of
3 learning, against | he answer the *Abstract* next. Nay, believe me, it is enough for him to answer the *Counterpoison* (2). And I am none of the malicious sectaries

reformed churches on the Continent, and were no doubt often twitted with their foreign credentials. We may suppose Martin to be punning on the word 'slanders,' which gives a very effective meaning.

(1) The invariable policy of the Bishops was to identify conformity to their ecclesiastical policy with loyalty to the Queen. See this set forth and illustrated more at length in the *Hist. Intro.* pp. 255, 256, section (a).

(2) We come here upon one of the famous controversial series of this period. The ground-work was entitled *An Abstracte of Certain Acts of parlement: of Certaine of her Maiesties Iniunctions, of certaine Canons, Constitutions and Synodalles Prouinciall: established and in force for the peaceable government of the Church, within her Maiesties Dominions and Countries, for the most part heretofore vnknowen and vnpractized.* [B. M. 697, f. 2.] This was apparently published early in 1584. In the same year Doctor Cosins, Dean of Arches, one of Whitgift's Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and later the official chronicler of the iniquities of the notorious Hacket affair, came forward, as a civil lawyer chiefly engaged in church affairs, with a reply, entitled *An Answer to the two first and principall Treatises of a certeine factious libell, put foorth latelie, without name of Author or Printer, and without approbation by authoritie vnder the title of, An Abstract, &c.*—a small 4to, pp. 12 + 350. [B. M. 697, f. 2.] (The *Abstracte* and the *Answer*, as the press mark indicates, are bound together in the British Museum volume. The copy of the *Abstracte* consists only of 'the two first and principall Treatises' referred to in Cosins' title; but whether this is only a section of the actual work I have not ascertained; apparently it is all that was published.) The discussion was now taken up by Dudley Fenner, sometime a tutor at Cambridge along with Cartwright and Travers. As vicar of Cranbrook in Kent, Fenner had come into collision with Whitgift over subscription to his 'three articles,' in January of this same year, 1584. He now published *A Counter-Poyson modestlie written for the Time, to make Answere to the Objections and Reproches, wherewith the Answerer to the Abstract, would disgrace the Holy Discipline of Christ.* To defend the official view Dr. John Copcot next came forward. He also was a Cambridge man, already a University preacher, and destined for further promotion. While yet only a Fellow of Trinity he became Vice-Chancellor, and in 1587, on Burghley's recommendation, he was elected

whereof John of London spake the last Lent, 1588, in his letters written to the Archdeacon of Essex to forbid public fasts. Ha, ha, Doctor Copcot, are ye there? Why do not you answer the confutation of your sermon at Paul's Cross? It is a shame for your Grace, John of Cant. that Cartwright's books (1) have been now a dozen years almost, unanswered. You first provoked him to write, and you first have received the foil. If you can answer those books, who do you suffer the Puritans to insult [exult] and rejoice at your silence? If you cannot, why are you an Archbishop? He hath proved the calling to be unlawful and antichristian. You dare not stand to the defence of it.

Master of Corpus Christi, several benefices and a chaplaincy under Whitgift being added. Copcot was able to deliver his reply from the open-air pulpit at Paul's Cross. It was at once published—*A Sermon Preached at Powles Crosse in* 1584, *wherein answeare is made unto the autor of the Counter-poyson touching the sense of the* 17. *verse of the fifte chapter of the firste to Timothye. Also an answere to the defense of the reasons of the Counter-Poyson for the maintenaunce of the Eldership.* Printing, for the 'Seekers of Reformation,' had now become both difficult and dangerous, so that we do not hear of Fenner until 1586, when he succeeded in publishing *A Defence of the Reasons of the Counter-Poyson, for maintenaunce of the Eldershippe against an aunswere made to them by Doctor Copcquot in a publike Sermon at Pawles Crosse vpon Psal. lxxxiv. anno* 1584. (Large extracts of the three last are given in Waldegrave's Rochelle reprint, 'A Parte of a Register,' and Copcot's sermon is also in MS. at Lambeth—MS. 374, f. 115.) Here the discussion ceases, and hence Martin's enquiry, which follows.

(1) Martin refers to 'books,' because the 'Second Replie' of Cartwright, which remained unanswered by Whitgift, was divided into two sections. The first part was published in 1575, and the 'Rest of the second replie' in 1577; that is, 13 and 11 years earlier, respectively, than the date at which Martin is now writing. He evidently reckons from the date of the second volume in saying 'a dozen years almost' had elapsed since Cartwright had published his reply. The Archbishop's answer to this taunt is given in the Bishop of Winchester's official reply to THE EPISTLE. 'Hee neuer thought them so necessarie to be answered, as the factious authors of the libel pretend. And of that opinion are not a fevve wise and learned men, that beare good will vnto the party [of the Bishops], and with all their hearts wishe that God woulde direct him to vse his good giftes to the peace and quietnesse of the Church. There is sufficient written already to satisfie an indifferent [impartial] reader. Hee that with indifferent minde shall read the "Answere" of the one, and the "Replie" of the other, shall see great difference in learning betweene them.'—Bp. Cooper's *Admonition*, pp. 38, 39. This last sentence amuses the reader, seeing that it was dictated by the Archbishop himself. Cooper, introducing the defence of Whitgift against Martin's accusations, says, 'I haue in these matters vsed the instruction of them, whom no honest man may in Christian duetie suspect of vntrueth' [that is, the accused prelates].—*Ibid.*, p. 37. I scarcely think that the impartial reader of to-day would regard Cartwright, Beza's 'most learned man in the world,' to be inferior to Whitgift in scholarship; and certainly he was not his inferior in dialectics. See HAY ANY WORKE, p. 266.

Now, most pitifully complaineth Master Marprelate; desireth you either to answer what hath been written against the gracelessness of your archbishopric, or to give over the same, and to be a means that no bishop in the land shall be a lord any more. I hope one day her Majesty will either see that the Lord Bishops prove their calling lawful by the Word, or, as John of London prophesied, saying, 'Come down, you Bishops from your thousands, and content you with your hundreds; let your diet be priestlike and not princelike, &c.' quoth John Aylmer in the *Harborowe* [Harbour] *of Faithful Subjects* (1). But, I pray you, Brother John, dissolve this one question to your brother Martin. If this prophecy of yours come to pass in your days, who shall be Bishop of London? And will you not swear, as commonly you do, like a lewd swag, and say, 'By my faith!' 'By my faith, my masters, this gear goeth hard with us' (2).

Now may it please your Grace, with the rest of your Worships, to procure that the Puritans may one day have a free disputation with you about the controversies of the Church, and if you be not set at a flat *non plus* and quite

(1) Sig. O4 and vers. The notorious passage which begins with the above sentences is quoted at length in THE EPITOME, p. 149. See also the notes and references there given.

(2) The Bishop's reply is at least amusing. 'It is omitted [that is earlier in the Bishop's defence, this occurring at its close] that Episcomastix ['whip for a bishop'] had a fling at the Bishoppe of *London* for swearing by his faith, wherefore he termeth him a Swag. What hee meaneth by that I will not diuine: but as all the rest is lewd, so surely herein he hath a lewde meaning. It is to be thought, that the Bishop wil take profite hereby, being a man that hath diligently read *Plutarke, De vtilitate capienda ab inimico.* If it bee an othe, as this gentleman hath censured it, it is not to be doubted, but that he wil amend it: but if it were lawful, as it may bee for any thing *Martin* can say, to aske his brother hood, what *Amen* signifieth, or whether it be an othe: then in his wicked and malicious wishes for the ouerthrow of the clergie, how oft is he to be found to say *Amen?* for in the phrase of our speech, *by my faith* signifieth no more, but, *in very truth, bona fide, in trueth, assuredly, id est, Amen.*'

'It is to be thought that *Martin* misliketh to say by his faith, because a railing and slanderous spirit can haue no faith: for where Charitie is away (the soule of all good workes) there can be no faith.'—Bp. Cooper's *Admonition*, pp. 62, 63. See HAY ANY WORKE, p. 279.

Among the books which Marprelate pretends he has on hand ready for publications he mentions the 'Epistomastix' (*vid. infra*, p. 82). Bishop Aylmer in the above quotation (from his contribution to Cooper's *Admonition*) corrects this, no doubt rightly, to 'Episcomastix' ('A whip for a bishop.') But 'Epistomastix' occurs again in THE EPITOME, p. 149, marg.

overthrown, I'll be a lord bishop myself. Look to yourselves. I think you have not long to reign. Amen. And take heed, Brethren, | of your reverend and learned brother, 4
Martin Marprelate. For he meaneth in these reasons following, I can tell you, to prove that you ought not to be maintained by the authority of the magistrate in any Christian commonwealth. Martin is a shrewd fellow, and reasoneth thus. Those that are petty popes and petty antichrists ought not be maintained in any Christian commonwealth. But every lord bishop in England, as for ill-sample John of Cant[erbury], John of London, John Exeter (1), John Rochester (2), Thomas of Winchester, the Bishops of Lincoln (3), of Worcester (4), of Peterborough (5), and to be brief, all the Bishops in England, Wales and Ireland, are petty popes and petty antichrists. Therefore no lord bishop—'Now, I pray thee, good Martin, speak out, if ever thou didst speak out, that her Majesty and the Council may hear thee'—is to be tolerated in any Christian commonwealth; and therefore, neither John of Cant[erbury], John of London, &c. are to be tolerated in any Christian commonwealth. What say you now, Brother Bridges? Is it good, writing against Puritans? Can you deny any part of your learned brother Martin's syllogism? We deny your minor, Master Marprelate, say the Bishops and their associates. Yea, my learned Masters, are you good at that? What do you Brethren? Say me that again—do you deny my minor? And that be all you can say to deny lord bishops to be petty popes, turn me loose to the priests in that point; for I am old Suresby (7) at the proof

What malapert knaves are these that cannot be content to stand by and hear, but they must teach a gentleman how to speak! (6)

Look the Doctor's book, page 107, line 20, and page 113, line 13.

(1) John Wolton, elected 1579.
(2) John Young, 1578.
(3) William Wickham, 1584.
(4) Edmund Freake, 1584.
(5) Richard Howland, 1585.
(6) We are here introduced to an original feature in Martin's satire. This marginal note purports to express the scandalised feelings of certain spectators, because of the interjectional advice in the text that Martin should 'speak out.' See the marginal note, next but one.
(7) ſſt. 'suersvie.' I have altered this word at the suggestion of Petheram, the more readily as the *v* and *b* in the B. L. type are nearly

of such matters. I'll presently mar the fashion of their Lordships.

They are petty popes and petty antichrists, whosoever usurp authority of pastors over them who, by the ordinance of God, are to be under no pastors. For none but antichristian popes and popelings ever claimed this authority unto themselves; especially when it was gainsaid, and accounted antichristian, generally, by the most churches in the world. But our Lord Bishops usurp authority over those who by the ordinance of God are | to be under no pastors, and that in such an age as [the present] wherein this authority is gainsaid and accounted antichristian generally by all the churches in the world for the most part. Therefore, our Lord Bishops—'What sayest thou, man?'—*our Lord Bishops*, I say, as John of Canterbury, Thomas of Winchester, (I will spare John of London for this time; for, it may be, he is at bowls, and it is pity to trouble my good brother, lest he should swear too bad), my reverend prelate of Lichfield, with the rest of that swinish rabble, are petty antichrists, petty popes, proud prelates, intolerable withstanders of Reformation, enemies of the Gospel, and most covetous wretched priests.

Master Marprelate, you put more than the question in the conclusion of your syllogism.

This is a pretty matter, that standers-by must be so busy in other men's games (1). Why, sauceboxes, must you be prattling? You are as mannerly as bishops, in meddling with that [with which] you have nothing to do; as they do in taking upon them civil offices. I think for any manners either they or you have, that you were brought up in

identical in form. At the close of his edition of THE EPITOME (the second Tract) Petheram has this note:

'In Martin Marprelate's "Epistle," p. 5, l. 25, occurs the word "suersvie"; this, it has been suggested to me, should be *suersbie*, a word of similar formation to *rudesbie*; it is to be met with in "Coriate's Crudities," vol. i. p. 42, and in Withal's "Little Dictionary," p. 564: "He is old suresby," that is, one surely to be depended upon.'

The simple explanation is that the word had become current through the popularity of Nicholas Udall's play, *Roister Doister*, one of the characters in which is Goodluck's faithful servant Sym Suresby. See Act V., sc. i.

(1) The marginal note just given assumes a second time the onlookers' criticism of the text, which Martin now banteringly replies to. He acknowledges that they are mannerly enough to keep to the 'margent.'

Bridewell. But it is well that since you last interrupted me (for now this is the second time) you seem to have learnt your Cato *De Moribus* (1), in that you keep yourselves on the margent. Would you be answered? Then you must know that I have set down nothing but the truth in the conclusion; and the syllogisms are mine own, I may do what I will with them, and thus hold you content. But what say you, my horned (2) Masters of the Convocation House? You deny my *minor* again, I know. And thus I prove it.

First,

That our Prelates usurp their authority.

They usurp their authority who violently and unlawfully retain those under their government, that both would and ought (if they might) to shake of[f] that yoke wherewith they are kept under. But our lord Bishops retain such (namely, other pastors) and unlawfully, under their yoke, who both would and ought to reject the same. For all the pastors in the land that deserve the name of pastors are against their will under the Bishops' | jurisdictions. And they are unlaw- 6
fully detained by them; because no pastor can be lawfully kept under the pastoral (I mean not the civil) authority of any one man. Therefore our Bishops and proud, popish, presumptuous, profane, paltry, pestilent and pernicious Prelates, Bishop of Hereford and all (3), are first usurpers, to begin the matter withal.

Secondly,

Our Prelates claim this authority over those who, by the ordinance of God, are to be under no Pastors.

That is, they claim pastoral authority over other ministers and pastors, who by the ordinance of God are appointed to

(1) Dionysius Cato's *Disticha de Moribus*, published in this country and on the Continent in innumerable editions.

(2) An allusion to the bishop's mitre.

(3) Herbert Westfaling, 1586. As his name indicates, he was the grandson of a Westphalian, a merchant who had settled in London. F. O. White says, truly enough, that he was almost the only really honest and incorruptible of the Elizabethan bishops.—*The Elizabethan Bishops*, p. 291. See HAY ANY WORKE, p. 399.

be pastors and shepherds to feed others; and not sheep, or such as are to have shepherds, by whom they are to be fed and overseen; which authority the Bishops claim unto themselves. For they say that they are pastors of all the pastors within their diocese. And take this of [on] Master Marprelate's word—that there is no pastor of pastors, but he is a pope. For who but a pope will claim this authority?

Thirdly,

This authority of our Lord Bishops in England is accounted antichristian of the most churches in the world.

As, of the Helvetian, the Scottish, French, Bohemian and the Churches of the Low Countries, the Churches of Polonia, Denmark, [those] within the Dominions of the Count Palatine, of the Churches in Saxony, and Swevia [Swabia], &c.; which you shall see evidently proved in the 'Harmony of the Confessions' of all those churches (section the eleventh). Which Harmony was translated and printed by that Puritan Cambridge printer, Thomas Thomas. And although the book came out 'by public authority,' yet, by your leave, the Bishops have called them [*sic*] in, as things against the state (1). And trust me his Grace will owe that Puritan printer as good a turn as he paid unto Robert

(1) Petheram observes that a new edition of *The Harmony* had recently, at the time of his writing, issued from the press, edited by the Rev. Peter Hall. The substance of his interesting note on Thomas Thomas may be here quoted. He was, says Petheram, a fellow and M.A. of King's College, Cambridge; the author of a dictionary published under his name in 1588. On May 3rd, 1582, he was licensed printer to the University. The Stationers' Company seized his press early in 1584–5; but on Feb. 11th of that year another licence was granted him. In 1586 *The Harmony*, translated out of the Latin, was printing there [at Cambridge], which for some reasons was not allowed to be printed in London. Whitgift sent his letter to the Vice-Chancellor 'and Heads, to cause the book to be stayed in the printing.' (Baker's MSS. Camb., Mm. i. 40 (27); Strype, *Annals*, 3, 442.) It was, however, published the same year; perhaps, as Strype says, 'after some review or correction of it.' It has 'alowed by publique authoritie' on the title-page. That the 'Bishops called them in' may be collected from the following entry in the Stationers' Register, A, quoted by Herbert, p. 1417, under the year 1589–90.

> 'Whereas all the seiz'd books were sold to Mr Ryshop, be it remembered that 40 of them being Harmonies of the Churches rated at iis. le piece, were had from him by warrant of my Ld. of Cant. and remain at Lambeth, with Mr Doctor Cosins.'

Waldegrave for his sauciness in printing my friend and dear brother Diotrephes' *Dialogue* (1). Well, friend Thomas, I warn you beforehand; look to yourself!

| And now, Brethren Bishops, if you will not believe me, 7
I will set down the very words of the French *Confession*, contained [in] page 359 of the 'Harmony.'

'We believe (saith the *Confession*, Art. 30) that all true pastors, in what place soever they be placed, have the same and equal authority among themselves given unto them under Jesus Christ, the only Head, and the chief, alone, universal Bishop: and that therefore it is not lawful for any Church to challenge [claim] unto itself dominion or sovereignty over any other.'

What an horrible heresy is this, will some say. Why, gentle Martin, is it possible that these words of the French *Confession* should be true? Is it possible that there ought to be an equality between his Grace and the Dean of Sarum, or some other hedge-priest? Martin saith it ought to be so. Why then, Martin, if it should be so, how will the Bishops satisfy the reader on this point? Alas, simple fellow, whatsoever thou art, I perceive thou dost not mark the words of the *Confession*. My good Brethren have long since taken order for this gear. For the *Confession* doth not say that 'all pastors,' but that 'all true pastors' and all pastors that are 'under Jesus Christ' are of 'equal authority.' So that all men see that my Brethren, that are neither true pastors, nor, I fear me, under Jesus Christ, are not to be of equal authority. And because this doth not touch them, I will end this whole learned discourse with the words of Pope Gregory unto John, Bishop of Constantinople (for I have

At a dead lift (2) well fare a good gloss.

(1) The title of the *Dialogue* is 'The state of the Church of Englande laide open in a conference betweene *Diotrephes* a Byshopp, Tertullus a Papiste, *Demetrius* an vsurer, *Pandochus* an Inne-keeper, and *Paule*, a preacher of the worde of God.' The author was John Udall. Waldegrave was engaged in printing this *Dialogue* when his press and types and a number of printed copies of the book were seized on April 16th, 1588. See the *Historical Introduction*, p. 152, for a further account of the affair; also the Introduction to Arber's useful reprint of the work, and his *Transcript*, i. 528.

(2) See *infra*, p. 58. As a last resource, a good gloss, which explains away the text, is not a bad device in controversy.

read something in my days), which words you shall find in our own English *Confession*, written by a bishop, page 361 of the 'Harmony.' The Pope's words be these.

'He is also the king of pride, he is Lucifer, which preferreth himself before his brethren; he hath forsaken the faith, and is the forerunner of Antichrist.'

And have not I quitted myself like a man, and dealt very valiantly in proving that my learned Brethren, the Lord Bishops, ought not to be in any Christian commonwealth; because they are petty popes and petty antichrists. But
8 what | do you say, if by this lusty syllogism of mine own making I prove them popes once more, for recreation's sake.

Why Martin, what meanest thou? Certainly an thou takest that course but a while, thou wilt set thy good Brethren at their wits' end.

Whosoever, therefore, claim unto themselves pastoral authority over those Christians, with whom they cannot possibly at any time, altogether, in the same congregation, sanctify the Sabbath, they are usurping prelates, popes, and petty antichrists. For did you ever hear of any, but of popes and dumb ministers, that would challenge [claim] the authority of pastors over those Christians, unto whom they could not possibly, on the Sabbaths, discharge the duty of pastors? But our Lord Bishops challenge unto themselves (1) pastoral authority over them, unto whom they cannot possibly, on the Sabbath, discharge the duty of pastors, viz. over people inhabiting divers shires, distant assunder, with whom, gathered together on the Sabbath, they cannot, by order of nature, perform any duty of pastors. Therefore, all the Lord Bishops in England, Ireland, and Wales—and for the good will I bear to the reverend Brethren, I will speak as loud as ever I can—All our Lord Bishops, I say, are petty popes, and petty usurping antichrists; and, I think, if they will still continue to be so, that they will breed young popes and antichrists. *Per consequens*, neither they nor their brood are to be tolerated in any Christian commonwealth, quoth Martin Marprelate. There is my judgment of you, Brethren. Make the most of it—I hope it will never

(1) Claim for themselves.

be worth a bishopric unto you. Reply when you dare, you shall have as good as you bring. And if you durst but dispute with my Worship in these points, I doubt not, but you should be sent home by Weeping Cross. I would wish you, my venable Masters, for all that to answer my reasons, or, out of doubt you will prove petty anti-christs. Your corner caps and tippets will do nothing in this point.

Most pitifully complaineth Martin Marprelate unto your Honourable Masterships: That certain thieves, having stolen from dyers in Thames-street as much cloth | as came 9
to thirty pound[s], did hide the said cloth in Fulham, which is a place within the territories of the Lord Dumb John, who, by occupation, is Lord Bishop of London. The thieves were apprehended. The cloth came within your clutches, Don John of London; and all is fish that comes to the net, with your good Honour. The thieves being taken, the dyers came to challenge [claim] their cloth. John London, the Bishop, said it was his own, because it was taken within his own lordship. 'But' saith he, 'if the cloth be yours, let the law go upon the thieves, and then I'll talk farther with you.' Well, one or two of the thieves were executed, and at their deaths confessed that to be the cloth which the Bishop had. But the dyers could not get their cloth, nor cannot unto this day; no, though one of their Honours [of the Council] wrote unto him to restore the cloth unto the poor men. What reason were it [that] he should give them their own? As though he could not tell how to put it to good uses, as well as the right owners. It is very good blue, and so would serve well for the liveries of his men; and it was good green, fit to make cushions, and coverings for tables. Brother London, you were best to make restitution; it is plain theft, and horrible oppression. Bonner would have blushed to have been taken with the like fact. The popish sort, your brethren, will commend this unto posterity by writing, assure yourself. The dyers' names are Baughin, Swan, and My book shall come with a

witness, before the High Commission.

Price. They dwell at the Old Swan in Thames-street (1). I warrant you Martin will be found no liar; he bringeth in nothing without testimony. And therefore I have set down the men's names, and the places of their abode, that you of this Conspiration House may find out this slander of truth against the Lord of good London. It was not therefore for nothing, John of London, I perceive, that Mistress Lawson, the shrew at Paul's Gate, and enemy to all dumb dogs and tyrannical prelates in the land, bade you throw down yourself at her Majesty's feet, acknowledging yourself to be unsavoury | salt, and to crave pardon of her Highness, because you had so long deceived her and her people (2). You might well enough crave pardon for your theft; for Martin will stand to it that the detaining of the men's cloth is plain theft (3).

(1) It is worth noting the persistence of these names. Close by Old Swan Wharf, off Upper Thames-street, is to-day a small thoroughfare called Dyer's-alley; where, no doubt, the dyers followed their calling.

(2) For reff. to Mistress Lawson, see the present Tract, p. 98, and HAY ANY WORKE, p. 268, and the note there given.

(3) This allegation against Bishop Aylmer is of so serious a character that his reply to this point stands first in the brief supplied by him, and inserted in Bishop Cooper's *Admonition*. It is easy to see that the defence of Aylmer was regarded as no congenial task by Cooper, who protects himself by inserting the following introductory note: 'This haue I laid downe word by worde, as I receiued the same from my Lorde of London: who desireth to haue the matter heard by indifferent Judges, and will shew the suggestions to be very vntrue.' The following is Aylmer's statement:

'And as to *Martin's* levvd exclamation against the B. of *London* concerning the cloth thought to be stollen from the Dyars, this is the truth of the case: that vpon notice giuen to the said B. that such like cloth wayued [abandoned] within his Manor of *Fulham*, and left in a ditch there, and no ovvner knovven, hee presently hoping to take them that brought it thither, or at the least to saue the same from purloying or miscarying, appointed the same to be watched diuers nights: and in the end hearing neyther of the owners, nor of them that so waiued it, willed the same to bee brought to his house in Fulham, and there to be kept for him or them which by law ought to haue it, were it in respect of the first property, or of the alteration thereof by means of the liberties. [That is, whether the cloth were the property of its first owners, or the ownership had lapsed to the lord of the manor, according to the manorial liberties or privileges.] Whereupon, a good space after, the Dyars indeed came to the Bishop, and claimed the cloth, and sought by earnest means to haue it again, without making any proofe, that the cloth was theirs, or that the same cloth was it for which the theeues were executed, or that fresh sute was made after the saide theeues for the same. But vpon conference had with learned Lawyers therein, it was resolued, that the propertie of this cloth was altered and transferred to the lyberties: and so it seemeth the Dyars themselues haue found, els would they by lawe haue sought remedy therefore yer [ere] nowe, it beeing well nie towards three yeares since. Yet neuerthelesse, so far hath the said bishop

Riddle me a riddle! What is that? His Grace threatened to send Mistress Lawson (1) to Bridewell, because she showed the good father, Doctor Perne (2), a way how to get his name out of the 'Book of Martyrs,' where the turncoat is canonised for burning Bucer's bones. Dame Lawson

beene from exacting the extremity, that offer hath bene made to the Dyars of a good part of the cloth, where in rigour of the law, they have lost all: And further to restore all, or to make sufficient recompence therefore, if by law it ought to be so, vpon the examination of the trueth of the case. And as for *Martin's* erronious iudgement, that this is theft, beeing taken and claymed by right and lawe, as aforesayd, because the true owners are defeated (as hee saith) surely, hee might knowe if it were matter for his humor, that the Lavve vvorketh this in other cases, as in strayes proclaymed and kept a yeere and a daye, according to the law, the propertie is altered, and transferred to the Lord from the true ovvner: so is it for stolen cattell, brought *bona fide* to the ouert [open] market: The first ovvners propertie is gone, and the buyer hath it: And so is it for waiued goods, as was this cloth. And to shewe that the sayde Bishop had not so great a desire to detaine the cloth as the Libeller hath presumed, hee often times asked an officer of his, howe it happened that the Dyars came not for it: for hee was euer ready, and yet is, to deliuer it to them, or the value thereof, if it prooue to be theirs. And thus much is to be answered to that matter.'—Bp. Cooper's *Admonition*, 51—53.

Martin's comment on this tissue of legal quiddities and of damaging admissions is brief and to the point. The Bishop admits he has had the cloth, Martin gladly notes. Let him make restitution.—HAY ANY WORKE, p. 278. Knowing the Bishop's character, in the absence of information to the contrary, it is safe to conjecture that he never gave up possession.

(1) The Bishops took the gossip about Dame Lawson seriously. Whitgift denies having threatened to send her to Bridewell. He says:

'This is a notorious vntrueth. For neither did hee, nor *D. Perne* euer heare (but of this libeller) that shee spake anie such wordes of him. But in trueth, as vvell for the immodestie of her tongue, vvherein she excelleth beyond the seemelinesse of an honest woman, as also for her vnwomanlie and skittish gadding vp, and downe to Lambehith, and from thence in company vnfit for her, without her owne husband, he threatened to send her to Bridewell, if she reformed not the same: which he meaneth to performe, if she continue her lightnesse. And yet *Dame Lawson*, so notorious for the vilenesse of her tongue, and other vnwomanly behauiour, is one of *Martin's* canonized saints: *Quia quod volumus sanctum est*, as *Augustine* said of their predecessors the *Donatists*. It is likewise an vntruth, vvhich is reported in that page of her words spoken by [about] *M. Shaller*. For surely if she had vttered them, hee would haue sent her thither without faile. But *Dame Lawson* glorieth in her owne shame, and so do her teachers.'—Bp. Cooper's *Admonition*, 39. See earlier, p. 38 · HAY ANY WORKE, p. 268, *note* (2).

(2) Dr. Andrew Perne, Master of St. Peter's, Cambridge, and Vice-Chancellor, the 'old turncoat,' is referred to in the *Hist. Intro.*, p. 113, in connection with Whitgift. He was a special friend of the Archbishop's and frequently visited Lambeth. He was a guest at Lambeth the following year, 1589, when he died. A Protestant controversialist under Edward VI., he became a zealous Papist under Mary, taking a foremost part, under the direction of Cardinal Pole, in the council which first condemned Bucer as a heretic and then ordered the exhumation and the incineration of his bones. For the proceedings *in re* Bucer, see Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* (Pratt and Stoughton), 4th ed., vol. viii., pp. 258 ff.

answered that she was an honest citizen's wife, a man well known; and, therefore, bade his Grace, an he would, send his uncle Shory thither (1). Ha, ha, ha! Now, good your Grace, you shall have small gains in meddling with Margaret Lawson, I can tell you. For if she be cited before Tarquinius Superbus, Doctor Stanhope (2), she will desire him to deal as favourably with her in that cause, as he would with Mistress Blackwell. Tse-tse-tse! Will it never be better with you, Mistress Lawson?

So-ho, Brother Bridges! (3). When will you answer the book intituled, *An Answer to Bridges's Slanders?* (4) Nay,

(1) It will be noticed that Martin refers to 'uncle Shory'; Whitgift calls him 'M. Shaller.' In that age it was no uncommon thing for a man to have an *alias*. Mrs. Shaller was Whitgift's aunt. Shaller was a verger at St. Paul's.

(2) Dr. Edward Stanhope was a civil lawyer who enjoyed a number of ecclesiastical preferments as well as valuable civil appointments. He was Canon of York, 1572-91; advocate at Doctors' Commons, 1576; Master in Chancery, 1577; Chancellor of the diocese of London, and Vicar-General of the province of Canterbury, 1583; Master of the commissioners of the Fine Office, 1589; rector of Terrington, Norfolk, 1589; Canon and Chancellor of St. Paul's, 1591. He was M.P. for Marlborough, 1584-5, 1586-7. He was knighted in 1603, and died 16 March, 1607-8. See Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses*, 1500–1714, ed. 1892, p. 1408. We are not surprised that a man, who secured from the ecclesiastical authorities such a liberal share of their patronage was a zealous persecutor of the Puritans. His name occurs in the various petitions sent during this period by imprisoned Nonconformists to the authorities. In the list of these prisoners preserved in the Harleian MS., 6848 (reprinted by Arber in his *Sketch*, pp. 38 ff, where he wrongly names him Richard Stanhope), we have the entry, 'Quyntin Smythe taken from his labours, cast into the Dungeon with Irons, his bible taken ffrom him by Stanhoop.' His name also occurs in the 'Brownist Petition,' given 'word for word' in Wall's *More Work for the Dean* (London, 1681), p. 17; and reprinted in Hanbury's *Memorials*, I. 88. There he is included with Aylmer and Justice Young in 'the persecuting and blood thirsty faculty.' See below, p. 51.

(3) Martin Marprelate is taken to task by the defenders of the hierarchy for treating the Dean as a teamster treats his horse. The truth, however, is that he is imitating the style of the Dean, who begins a sentence with 'Sohow!' or 'Wo (*who* he writes) there!' See his *Defence*, p. 76.

(4) This work first appeared without the author's name, but in Waldegrave's collection of reprints '*A parte of a Register*' it is ascribed to Dudley Fenner. The title of the work will serve as a brief account of its contents. *A Defence of the Godlie Ministers against the Slaunders of D*[*octor*] *Bridges, contayned in his answeare to the Preface before the* [*Learned*] *Discourse of Ecclesiasticall gouernement, with a Declaration of the Bishops proceeding against them. Wherein chieflie* 1. *The lawfull authoritie of her Maiestie is defended by the Scriptures, her Lawes, and authorised interpretation of them, to be the same which we haue affirmed against his cauilles and slaunders to the contrarie.* 2. *The lawfull refusinge also of the Ministers to subscribe is maintayned by euident grounde of Gods worde, and her Maiesties lawes,*

I think you had more need to gather a benevolence among the clergy to pay Chard toward the printing of your book; or else labour to his Grace to get him another 'protection' (1). For men will give no money for your book, unless it be to stop mustard-pots, as your brother Cosins' *Answer to the Abstract* did (2). You have been a worthy writer, as they say, of a long time. Your first book was a proper interlude called *Gammer Gurton's Needle*. But I think this trifle, which showeth the author to have had some wit and invention in him, was none of your doing; because your books seem to proceed from the brains of a woodcock, as having neither wit nor learning (3). Secondly you have to

against his euident wresting of both. 3. *Lastlie, the forme of Church gouernement which we propounde is according to his demaunde. Sillogisticallie proued to be ordinarie, perpetuall, and the best.* 1587. [4°. pp. iv. + 150. B. M. press mark, 111. a. 27.] For Fenner, see *ante*, p. 20, *note* (2).

(1) Bridges' ponderous work bears the imprint 'Printed by John Windet for Thomas Chard.' It would seem that the Dean supplied Chard with the 'copy,' which he undertook to print and publish and gain what profit he could out of the sale. We can well understand that the dull, amorphous folio of fourteen hundred pages did not find a ready sale, and that to ease Chard of his loss a 'protection' had to be granted him. Whitgift takes notice of Martin's hint that a second was necessary. 'That which he calleth a Protection, *Chard* had from the Lords of her Maiesties Priuie Counsell, vpon charitable and good causes mouing their Lordships.'—Bishop Cooper's *Admonition*, 40. See HAY ANY WORKE, p. 269.

(2) For the *Abstracte* see note to the present Tract, *supra*, p. 20, *note* (2). The reference to the use of waste paper for stopping mustard-pots is not infrequent in the literature of the time. 'Should we (as you) borrowe all out of others, and gather nothing of ourselues, our names should be baffuld [despised] on euerie Book-sellers Stall, and not a Chandlers Mustard-pot, but would wipe his mouthe with our wast paper.'—*Pierce Penilesse*, McKerrow's *Nash*, I. 192.

(3) There is a humorous reference to this old play in the EPITOME, p. 167; besides an earlier passing allusion on p. 140. Its full title is *A Ryght Pithy, Pleasaunt, and Merie Comedie: Intytuled Gammer Gurtons Nedle: Played on Stage, not longe ago in Christes Colledge in Cambridge Made by Mr. S. Mr. of Art.* It has been recently edited by Mr. Henry Bradley in a volume of *Representative English Comedies* (Macmillan, 1903), under the general editorship of Prof. C. M. Gayley, of the University of California. Most modern writers have followed one another in ascribing its authorship to Bishop John Still. But all we know of Bishop Still makes the ascription one of great improbability, and it is not surprising to find that the name of the bishop was not associated with the play earlier than Isaac Reed's edition of Baker's *Dict. of the Stage* (first published as *Biographia Dramatica*) in 1782. All the evidence that Reed had upon which to base his conjecture that Still was the author was an entry in the Bursar's books at Christ's College, Cambridge, that a play was acted in the house in 1566–7, and that the only M.A. about that time whose name began with S was John Still. But Mr. Bradley in his Introduction to the play makes

your mediocrity (1) written against the Papists. And since that time you have written a sheet in rime of all the names attributed unto the Lord in the Bible—a worthy monument!

11 What—hath the | hedge-priest, my Brother, written any more? O 'iss, I cry him mercy. He hath written this great volume, which now I have in hand, against his brethren. The qualities of this book are many. Master Dean showeth himself to be very skilful in the learning of *ob* and *sol*. If ever you read old Fa[ther] Bricot upon Aristotle, Master Dean's manner of writing and his are not much unlike. Doctor Terence of Oxford and this Doctor may be near of kindred for their learning (2). There be periods in this

an excellent case for William Stevenson as the author. Allusions in the play itself indicate that it was written in the days of King Edward VI., and there is evidence that a play by Stevenson was acted at Christ's in the year 1553–4. An extended article on the authorship from the pen of Dr. C. H. Ross (of Alabama College, Auburn, Ala., U.S.A.) appears in *Anglia* (Neue Folge, Band vii. Halle a. S., 1897), a German periodical devoted to English philology and literature. In this article Dr. Ross takes seriously the suggestion by Martin that Bridges was the author, and seeks to maintain it, accounting the 'Mr. S.' in the title to be a mere blind. This, he says, was the opinion of Joseph Hunter, from whose MS. 'Chorus Vatum Anglicanorum' [Brit. Mus., MS. Addit. 24, 487] Dr. Ross quotes: '(The play) was however attributed by a contemporary [Martin Marprelate] to a quite different person. This was Dr. John Bridges. . . . This is a testimony not to be despised. . . . It is supported by the circumstance that Dr. Bridges did write in verse, another piece being attributed to him, namely, a sheet in rime of all the names attributed to the Lord in the Bible.' There are few persons, surely, who would regard Bridges' rhyming list of our Lord's names in Scripture as a *circumstance supporting* the attribution to him of the authorship of *Gammer Gurton's Needle*. It is true that Martin, who seemed to know all that there was to be known about the clergy concerned in the persecution of nonconforming Evangelicals, recorded this rumour that Dean Bridges was the author of the very unclerical comedy. But it is not correct to say that Martin gave credence to the rumour. His critical acumen was too keen not to see that the author of the *Defence* and of sundry other things is not to be credited with writing a comedy, whose writer must have been a man of 'wit and invention.' Apart from Mr. Bradley's strong case for Stevenson, no one, on the evidence of his known writings, could believe that Dean Bridges wrote the celebrated drinking song in *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, at the beginning of the second act. The verve of that old Bacchanalian stave lies entirely beyond Dean Bridges' prosy gift.

(1) In his *Preface* Dean Bridges expresses his regret that he is opposing those 'whom otherwise in Christe, I humbly acknowledge to be our own deare Brethren. And much gladlier,' he continues, 'the Lord knowes, would I be, to haue wholly objected my selfe (as before to my mediocritie I haue endeuoured) against the publike aduersaries of Gods truth [i.e. the Papists].'

(2) Father Thomas Bricot has almost faded from the world's record. Wood (*Fasti Oxon.*) refers parenthetically to 'one Brycot' who 'was a

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learned book of great reason, though altogether without sense. I will give you a proof or two. Page 441: *And although,* saith the Doctor, *Paul afterward,* 1 *Cor.* 1[14], *mentioning this Crispus, term him not there, the archgovernor of the Jews' Synagogue, yet as it farther appeareth, Acts* 18[17] *by Sosthenes, who was long before a faithful Christian, and as some allege out of Eusebius, lib.* 1. *cap.* 13. *he was also one of the seventy-two Disciples chosen by Christ.*

Sosthenes and not Crispus was one of the Seventy-two disciples.

'Fleering, jeering, leering'—there is at all no sense in this period. From (1) the words 'yet,' 'afterward,' unto the end, Master Doctor's mind was so set upon a bishopric that he brought nothing concerning Crispus to answer the word 'yet.' Therefore I will help my reverend Brother to make the sentence in this sort. 'And although, &c., yet afterward my learned brother Dr. Young, Bishop of

famous philosopher at Oxon, as his books shew.' He can be seen, in the more recent acquisitions of the British Museum Library, in one or two works of extreme rarity. The volume which remained so vividly in Martin's memory since his university days is a folio of some four or five hundred pages; close printed in double columns, in a Gothic letter, with abundant use of contractions. Its title runs *Cursus optimarum questionum super Philosophiam Aristotelis cum interpretatione textus secundum viam Modernorum: ac secundum cursum magistri Georgij: Per magistrum Thomam Bricot sacre Theologiæ professorem emendate* [?1490]. At the opening and close of *Primus Liber de Cœlo et Mundo* the reader will see wonderful diagrams of the orbits of *sol* and the other heavenly bodies and their influences. One can easily imagine the weariness of the student who laboured through the solid unbroken pages of 'olde Fa-Briccot,' and the satisfaction with which he reached 'Finit feliciter metaphysicam.' '*Feliciter*, indeed,' he would doubtless say, as he closed the volume, his copy probably very much like, in outward appearance, the copy before us, bound in plain maple boards, with a decorated vellum back; the roughly cut initials in the wooden cover 'F. M. T.' signifying, as is inscribed within the cover, that it was the property [*?fundus*] of the Monastery of Tegernsee [Brit. Mus. I. B. 37394]. The appearance of Dean Bridges' solid quarto of fourteen hundred pages might well recall the stodgy mass of the old *Cursus*, though Bricot indeed had brightened up his serried mass in one or two places with grotesque diagrams of *ob* and *sol* and the rest of the mysteries. Father Bricot flourished during the close of the fifteenth century and the early part of the sixteenth. He is probably the same Bricot as he that is mentioned in connection with an incident in the life of John Colet in the year 1511. See Foxe's *A. and M.*, vol. iv., pp. 247, 248, ed. by Pratt and Stoughton. He is included by Tyndale in the list of teachers followed severally by the Romish priests. 'Moreover seyng that one of you ever preacheth contrary to an other . . . One foloweth *Duns* [Scotus] an other Saint *Thomas*, an other Bonaventure, Alexander de hales, Raymond, Lyre, Brygot, &c.'—Preface to *The Obed. of a Christian Man*, Foxe's ed. 102, *b*. 'Doctor Terence' must be an old nick-name given to the 'famous philosopher at Oxon.'

(1) M. 'For.'

Rochester, having the presentation of a benefice in his hand, presented himself thereunto, even of mere good will. "I, John of Rochester present John Young," quoth the Bishop' (1). Now, judge you, good readers, whether Martin sayeth not true, that there is too much cosenage now-a-days among the clergymen.

This sentence following of Master Dean's hath as good sense as the former. Page 655, the Dean citeth these words out of *The Learned Discourse* (2). 'God grant that instead of ordinary Forms of Prayers we may have preaching in all places.' 'And instead (3) of Amen, God forbid!' quoth the Doctor, 'with another prayer to the contrary'; (4)
12 | (now mark, my masters, whether you can find any sense in this contrary prayer, for I assure you reverend Martin can find none) '*if it be his good will, not so much (good Lord) to punish us, that this our brethren's prayer should be granted.*' If this be a senseless kind of writing, I would there were never a Lord Bishop in England.

These be the Dean's own words.

And, learned Brother Bridges, a man might almost run himself out of breath, before he could come to a full point in many places in your book. Page 69, line 3, speaking of

(1) The official reply to this accusation is instructive. 'Among other their reproches, they affirme of the bishop of *Rochester*, that hee presented him selfe to a benefice. I doe not think it to be true, for that I know it can not be good in Lawe. If he hath procured a benefice in way of *Commendam*, (as they call it), it is by lawe allowed, and hath bene done by other[s].'—Cooper's *Admon.*, p. 63. It would have been better to offer no defence than to say implicitly that the charge may be true, save only in name. He did present himself to Wouldham in 1592 (*D. N. B.*). Dr. John Young, Bishop of Rochester, was one of those who most completely sympathised with Whitgift's ecclesiastical views and methods. He was what was called a 'strong Churchman,' and 'had a noted antipathy to all Nonconformists.' The see of Rochester being poor, he was allowed to keep some of his benefices *in commendam*. He was offered richer bishoprics, but preferred to hold on to Rochester and his 'commendams,' especially when he could on occasion add to the number of the latter.

(2) *A Learned Discourse of Ecclesiasticall Government* is the running headline of *A Briefe and Plaine Declaration, concerning the desires of all those faithfull Ministers that haue and do seeke for the Discipline and reformation of the Church of Englande.* It was printed in London by Robert Waldegrave in 1584, and is to be distinguished from *A Full and Plaine Declaration*, published in 1574. See below, p. 61, *note* (1); *Hist. Introd.*, 135 ff.

(3) In the original 'in place.' There is a further reference to this sentence in the EPITOME, p. 161.

(4) A redundant 'now' is omitted.

the extraordinary gifts in the Apostles' time, you have this sweet learning:

'Yea, some of them have for a great part of the time continued even till our [own] times, and yet continue, as *the operation of great works;* or, if they mean *miracles,* which were not ordinary, no, not in that extraordinary time; and, as the hypocrites had them, so might and had divers of the Papists, and yet their cause never the better. And the like may we say of *the gift of speaking with tongues* which have not been with (1) study before learned; as Anthony, &c., and divers also among (2) the ancient Fathers, and some among the *Papists;* and some among us have not been destitute of *the gift of prophesying* (3). And much more may I say this of *the gift of healing,* for none of *those* (4) *gifts or graces* given then or 'since or yet *to men,* infer the *grace of Gods election to be of necessity to salvation'* (5).

Wo, wo! Dean, take breath and then, to it again! (6)

Here is a good matter delivered in as good grammatical words.

But what say you if Master Doctor can prove that Peter was Prince of the Apostles? That is Popery, quoth Martin, to begin withal. Nay, but what say you if he proveth that one priest among the residue may have a lawful superior authority over the universal body of the Church? Is not this plain treason? 'Iss, forsooth!—if a Puritan had written it. But Mas' Dean of Sarum that wrote these things is a man that favoureth bishops, a non-resident, one that will not stick to play a game at cards, and swear 'by his troth'; and, therefore, he may write against the Puritans what he will; his Grace of Canter | bury will give a very 13 Catholic exposition thereof. This geare maintaineth the crown of Canterbury, and what matter is it, though he write,

Both these points are set down, p. 448, line 3.

(1) In the original of Bridges 'by.'
(2) In the original 'both of the ancient, &c.'
(3) In the original 'prophecie.'
(4) In the original 'these.'
(5) I have endeavoured by means of punctuation to make the quotation more lucid and intelligible; but the sentences still remain without a destination. The meaning of the words closing the quotation is, of course, that the possession of 'extraordinary gifts' does not infer the possession also of 'the grace of God's election,' nor are these gifts necessary to salvation. Bridges' exact statement is that the miraculous gifts do not 'inferre the *gift and grace of Gods election, adoption, or be of necessitie to saluation.*' Martin returns to this sentence in the EPITOME, p. 166, where he discusses, not the Dean's grammar, but his opinions.
(6) *Vide ante,* p. 32, *note* (3).

for the maintenance thereof, all the treason in the world? It will never come unto her Majesty's ear; as my friend Tertullus, in the poor *Dialogue* that the Bishops lately burned, hath set down (1). His Grace is able to salve the matter well enough; yea, my Brother Bridges himself can answer this point. For he hath written otherwise, page 288, line 26, in these words: Neither is all government taken away from all, though a moderate superior government be given of all to some, and not yet of all in all the Church to one, but to one over some in several and particular Churches. The Dean will say that concerning the superiority (2) of bishops this is the meaning. As concerning the treason, written [upon] page 448, it may be the fox, Doctor Perne, who helped him, as they say, to make this worthy volume, was the author of it.

Now, Brethren, if any of you that are of the Convocation House would know how I can prove Master Dean to have written flat treason (page 448, as I have before set down), draw near, and with your patience I will prove it; so that (3) Master Dean will stand to his own words, which I care not if they be set down. Page 448, line 3, thus you shall read.

I commend thee yet good Dean, for thy good English tongue.

'Clear,' quoth he. Yea, who will make any question thereof?

'Doth S. Peter then forbid that any one Elder should have and exercise any superior government over the clergy, understanding the clergy in this sense? If he doth not, but alloweth it and his self practised it, then, howsoever both the name both of governing and clergy may be abused, the matter is clear, that one priest or elder among the residue may have a superior authority over the clergy, that is, over all the universal body of the Church, in every particular or several congregation, and so

(1) In Udall's *Dialogue* (commonly known as *Diotrephes*, *vide ante*, p. 27, and the *Hist. Intro.*, p. 152) Tertullus, whom Martin here ironically calls his friend, is 'a Papiste,' and between him and 'Diotrephes a Byshopp' we have the following colloquy:—

Diotr. How can I tell her [the Queen] that all is well, when I haue beene constrained to tell diuers preachers that haue so sore vrged me with the text, that I could wish things were amended: but the Q. wil not at any hand?

Tertul. Surely, you are a very simple man, my Lord, as though the Queene heares what you saye to them, or they what you saye to the Queene.—Arber's ed., p. 26.

(2) Pre-eminence; superiority in rank.

(3) Provided that.

not only over the people but also over the whole order of ministers.'

Would your Worships know how I can show and convince my brother Bridges to have set down flat treason in the former words? Then, have at you, Dean.

1. It is | treason to affirm her Majesty to be an infidel; or, 14 not to be contained [included] in the body of the Church. Look [at] Statute 13 Eliz.
2. It is treason to say that one priest or elder may have a lawful superior authority over her Majesty.

Take your spectacles then, and spell your own words, and you shall find that you have affirmed either of these two points. For, you affirm that a priest may have a lawful superior authority over the universal body of the Church. And you dare not deny her Majesty to be contained within the universal body of the Church. Therefore, to help you to spell your conclusion, you have written treason, if you will be as good as your writing. Your learned friend Martin (for no *brother*, Master Dean, if you be a traitor) would not mistake you; and therefore say what you can for yourself. You mean not that this priest shall be over all the Church—do you? But how shall we know that? Forsooth, because you say that this superiority must be in every particular or several congregation. Is this your answer, Brother John? Why, what sense is there in these words? One priest may have a superior authority over the universal body of the Church, in every particular or several congregation! The 'universal body of the Church' is now become 'a particular or several congregation' with you.

And in good earnest, Dean John, tell me how many orders of ministers be there in a particular congregation? For there must be orders of ministers in the congregation where you mean this bouncing priest should have his superiority. And because this cannot be in several and particular congregations, therefore you cannot mean by these words, 'over the universal body of the Church,' any other thing than the whole Church Militant.

But you would mend your answer, and say, that this

superior priest must be an English priest, and no foreigner? As for ill-sample, his Grace of Canterbury is an English priest. Do you mean then that his Grace should be this superior priest, who by Sir Peter's allowance may have a lawful superior au | thority over the universal body of the Church? Truly I do not mean so. And, good now, do not abuse his Grace's Worship in this sort, by making him a Pope. Be it you mean this High Priest should be no stranger, yet your treason is as great or greater. For you will have her Majesty to be subject unto her own subject and servant. And if it be treason to say that the Pope, who hath princes and cardinals for his servants, being far better than were John with his Canterburyness, may have a lawful superior authority over her Majesty, as one being contained within the universal body of the Church, is it not much more traitorous to say that an English vassal may have this authority over his Sovereign?

A good ill-sample.

Sir Peter never allowed this.

Here be those that can be barbarous as well as Mas' Dean.

And, Brother John, did Sir Peter (1) his self indeed practise this authority? Why, what a priest was he! Did he allow others to have this authority? Truly, this is more than ever I knew, till now. Yet, notwithstanding I think he never wore corner cap and tippet in all his life, nor yet ever subscribed to my Lord of Canterbury's Articles (2). Now, the question is—whom Sir Peter his self alloweth to be this bouncing priest? The Pope of Rome—yea, or, no? No; in no case. For that is against the statute. For will my Brother Bridges say that the Pope may have a lawful superior authority over his Grace of Canterbury? I'll never believe him, though he say so. Neither will I say that his Grace is an infidel (nor yet swear that he is much better); and therefore Master Dean meaneth not that the Pope should be this High Priest.

His Grace shall never get me to swear against my conscience.

(1) For 'Sir Peter,' see HAY ANY WORKE, p. 213, *note* (1).

(2) The use of Sir for the customary Saint greatly scandalised Bishop Cooper. He says 'the Saints of God in Heauen doe feele it.' - *Admonition*, 'To the Reader,' sig. A. ii., recto. Martin replies in HAY ANY WORKE, p. 224, where see note. For the origin of Sir as an equivalent for Saint, and as a title for clergymen, see reference to HAY ANY WORKE, introductory Epistle, quoted in *note* (1).

No, Brother Martin, quoth Master Dean, you say true; I mean not that the Pope is this priest of Sir Peter. And I have many reasons why I should deny him this authority. First, he is a mass-monger; that is, a professed idolater. 2. He weareth a triple crown; so doth not my Lord of Canterbury. 3. He hath his seat in Romish Babylon, in Rome, within Italy. You know the number 666 in The Revelation signifieth *Lateinos* (1), that is, the Man of Rome, or *Ecclesia Italica* (2), the Italian Church. Last | ly, he 16
must have men to kiss his toes, and must be carried upon men's shoulders, and must have princes and kings to attend upon him; which showeth his horrible pride. Sir Peter's universal priest, and mine, shall be no such priest, I trow, quoth Master Doctor. No; shall not, Doctor John. I con (3) thee thank.

Then thy universal priest—

1. Must be no idolater.
2. Must be no proud priest, and have never a triple crown (and yet I hope he may wear as brave a satin gown as my Lord of Winchester weareth, and be as choleric as he).
3. He must have his seat out of Italy—as for fashion's sake at Lambeth, Hippo, &c.; but at Rome in no case.

If I should examine these properties, I think some of

(1) This interpretation was first suggested by Irenæus (*Hær.*, v. 30, i.), and, although he did not formally adopt it, it had additional weight from the fact that Irenæus was an auditor of Polycarp, the disciple of the Apostle John. The numerical value of the Greek letters λατεινος—in which the diphthong ει represents the primitive method of writing ī (long) —equals 666. It was an interpretation which naturally attracted the Protestant reformers (see Foxe, *A. & M.* IV., 106), and continued to hold the chief place until the portentous name of Napoleon came to disturb the horoscopy and the arithmetic of students of the Apocalypse, who discovered that the name of the great Corsican could be made to produce the requisite 666. But so respectable an authority as Dean Alford reverts to the earlier suggestion of Irenæus. 'The Latin Empire, the Latin Church, Latin Christianity have ever been its [the Papal organization's] commonly current appellations: its language civil and ecclesiastical has ever been Latin, its public services, in defiance of the most obvious requisite for public worship have ever been throughout the world conducted in Latin: there is no one word which could so completely describe its character and at the same time write the ancient and modern attributes of the two beasts, as this.'—*Comm.* Rev. 13^{18}. In the original the key-word is misprinted *Latenivs*.

(2) M. 'Italike.'

(3) Con = to return thanks.—Halliwell.

them, if not all, have been accidents unto English priests. For how many Bishops are there in England, which have not either said mass, or helped the priest to say mass, or been present at it? As for the triple crown, Pope Joan, the English harlot, hath worn it; so did Urban the Fifth, an Englishman (1). And concerning pride I hope that our Bishops now living have 'to their mediocrity' (2) taken order that some Popes may be inferior unto them; as for ill-sample, his Canterburyness, &c. And I cannot see how the planting of the Chair in Rome any more than Canterbury can make a pope; seeing that Clement the Fifth, John the Twenty-Second, Benedict the Twelfth, and all other popes from the year 1306 unto 1375, sat not in Rome, but for the most part at Avignon in France (3). But notwithstanding all this, out of your meaning Mas' Dean such a simple, ingram (4), man as I am in these points of universal, superior, priests, [even] I find three differences between my Lord of Peterborough, or any other our High Priests in England, and the Pope's Holiness; and three impediments to hinder the Pope from being Sir Peter's High Priest, and yours; viz. his idolatry, 2. his triple crown, 3. his seat at Rome. But if Hildebrand, Pope of Rome had been a professor of the truth (as his Grace, Doctor Turncoat's—Perne'[s] I should say—scholar is); had worn no triple-
17 crown; had been Archbishop of | Canterbury (and I think we have had Hildebrands there ere now); then he might, by the judgment of the learned Bridges, and the allowance of that Peter, which his self practised that authority, have a lawful superior authority over the universal body of the Church. And what a worthy Canterbury Pope had this

(1) The mythical nationality is probably taken from Bale's *Pageant of Popes*, ff. 55, 139.

(2) *Vide ante*, p. 34, *note* (1).

(3) Martin gives the names of the first three of the Popes of the 'Babylonish Captivity.' Clement V. removed the Papal seat from Rome to Avignon in 1305, and not till January 17th, 1377, did Gregory XI. land in Rome.

(4) Ingram (also, yngram, ingrum) = ignorant [illiterate]. 'Pray take my fellow Ralph, he has a Psalm Book. I am an ingrum man.'—Beaum. and Fl., *Wit without Money*, V. 1. [See EPITOME, *infra*, p. 118. 'ingramness.'] (Murray's *New Eng. Dict.*)

been, to be called my Lord's Grease! Thus you see, Brother Bridges, Master Marprelate, an please him, is able to make a younger brother of you. He hath before proved that if ever you be Archbishop of Canterbury (for you wrote this foul heap against the holy Discipline of Christ, as Whitgift did the like, in hope to be the next Pope of Lambeth) that then you shall be a petty pope and a petty antichrist. Nay, he hath proved you to have deserved a caudle of hempseed, and a plaister of neckweed (1), as well as some of your brethren the Papists.

And now Brother Bridges, once again, is it good [this] writing against the Puritans? Take me at my word, unless you answer the former point of antichristianism and this treason, I will never write again to my Brethren, the Bishops, but as to usurpers and antichrists, and I shall take you for no better than an enemy to her Majesty's supremacy. And because you have taken upon yourself to defend lord bishops, though you be as very a sot as ever lived (outcept(2) dumb John of London again) yet you shall answer my reasons; or else I will so course you, as you were never coursed since you were a simoni[a]cal Dean (3). You shall not deal with my Worship as John with his Canterburyness did with Thomas Cartwright; which John left the cause you defend, in the plain field, and for shame threw down his weapons with a desperate purpose to run away and leave the cause, as he like a coward hath done. For this dozen years we never saw anything of his in print for the defence of his cause; and poor Master Cartwright doth content himself with the victory; which the other will not (though in deed he hath by his silence) seem to grant. But I will not be thus used | at *your* hands; for unless you 18
answer me, or confess (and that in print) that all Lord

(1) These doubtless represent the hangman's rope, the desert of a traitor.
(2) Martin has substituted the English equivalent for *ex*.
(3) It is a slight matter, but the student will remember that this is the phrase used by Sir Richard Knightley when threatening what he would do if the pursuivants came to search his house at Fawsley. See *Hist. Introd.* 178; and the EPITOME, *infra*, p. 140.

Ha, Priests, I'll bang you—or else never trust me!

Bishops in England, Wales, Ireland, yea, and Scotland too, are petty popes, and plain usurpers, and petty antichrists, I'll kindle such a fire in the holes of these foxes, as shall never be quenched as long as there is a lord bishop in England. And who, but the worthy Martin, can do so valiantly?

Page 560, Master Dean bringeth in Aretius to prove that kneeling at the Communion is not offensive. And how is the argument concluded, think you? Forsooth, even thus. Aretius saith, that in Berne they receive the Communion sitting or standing. Therefore, saith my Brother Bridges, kneeling at the Communion is not unlawful. I marvel whether he was not hatched in a goose'[s] nest that would thus conclude. In another place, page 226 or thereabouts, he proveth that one man may have two spiritual livings; because the Puritans themselves say that one charge may have two ministers; to wit, a pastor and a doctor. And these be some of the good proofs whereby our Established [Church] Government is upheld.

My Brother Bridges now reasoneth in good earnest for non-residents.

What a crafty knave is Mas' Dean.

It would make a man laugh to see how many tricks the Doctor hath to cozen the silly Puritans in his book. He can now and then without any noise allege an author clean against himself, and, I warrant you, wipe his mouth cleanly and look another way, as though it had not been he. I have laughed as though I had been tickled, to see with what sleight he can throw in a Popish reason, and—who saw him? And with what art he can convey himself from the question and go to another matter, it is wonderful to think. But what would not a Dean do to get a bishopric? In this one point, for sparing labour he is to be admired, [in] that he hath set down under his own name those things which, to speak as I think, he never wrote himself. So let the Puritans answer when they will, he hath so much of other men's helps, and such contrarieties, in this book, that when they bring
10 one | thing against him out of his own writings, he will bring another place out of the said book, flat contrary to that, and say that the latter is his, and not the former. For

the former, it may be, was some other friend's, not so fully seene [versed] in the cause as Presbyter John Bridges was. The reason of these contrarieties was very expedient; because many had a hand in the work. Every man wrote his own mind, and Mas' Doctor joined the whole together.

Now, forasmuch as he hath played the worthy workman, I will bestow an epitaph upon his grave when he dieth; which is thus—

Here lies John Bridges, a worthy Presbyter he was.

But what if he be a bishop before he die? What, Brethren, do you not think that I have two strings to my bow? 'Iss us have. Aye, and thus (1) I sing, if he chance to be a bishop.

Here lies John Bridges, late Bishop, friend to the Papa.

I care not an I now leave Mas' Dean's Worship, and be eloquent once in my days. Yet Brother Bridges a word or two more with you, ere we depart. I pray you, where may a man buy such another gelding, and borrow such another hundred pounds, as you bestowed upon your good patron, Sir Edward Horsey, for his good word in helping you to your Deanery? (2) Go to, go to! I perceive you will prove a goose. Deal closelier, for shame, next time. Must I needs come to the knowledge of these things? What if I should report abroad that clergymen come unto their promotions by simony, have you not given me just cause? I

(1) ℳ. is vs haue I/ and thus, &c.

(2) Sir Edward Horsey was the Governor of the Isle of Wight, and a person of some consequence. He was an ambassador to France in 1573, and conducted a still more delicate negotiation in 1576, as ambassador to Don John of Austria, then Governor of the Spanish Netherlands. As to the transaction reported here between him and Bridges we only have Martin's statement. Cooper, in the official reply of the Bishops, does not refer to this case particularly. But he ascribes 'greedie seeking after liuings and promotions,' to 'the ambitious doings of some few.' He says 'the deuil' by this ambition 'worketh no small euill nowe at this day, in this our church of *Englande*.' Then he ventures upon this dubious defence of the hierarchy. 'All the enemies of the bishoppes and better sort of the clergie, shall neuer be able to proue, notwithstanding the daunger of this corrupt time, that there is at this day in this Realme, such heauing and shouuing, such canuasing and woorking for bishoprikes and other Ecclesiasticall liuinges, as I will declare unto them to haue beene in the ancient time aboue a thousand yeeres since, in the best state that euer was in the Church, from the Apostles age vnto this time.'—Bishop Cooper's *Admonition*, pp. 141, 142, 143. See HAY ANY WORKE, p. 261.

think Simony be the Bishops' lackey. Tarleton took him not long since in Don John of London's cellar (1).

Well, now to mine eloquence; for I can do it I tell you. Who made the porter of his gate a dumb minister? Dumb John of London (2). Who abuseth her Majesty's subjects in urging them to subscribe contrary to law? John of London. Who abuseth the High Commission, as much as

(1) For Tarleton the comedian, see brief reference in HAY ANY WORKE, p. 280, *note* (3). The cellar in the Bishop of London's palace was a prison.

(2) This is one of the most scandalous of the accusations made by Martin against Aylmer, the Bishop of London. And as the Bishop has taken pains to defend himself we had better give his reply at length. He says, 'The Libeller obiecteth against the Bishop as a heinous fault, that of his Porter he made a Minister: which, al things considered, he thinketh that doing to be iustifiable and lawfully done, and not to lacke example of many such that haue bene after that sort admitted, both since her Maiestics comming to the Crown, by many good Bishops, and by sound histories Ecclesiasticall, that vvhere the Church by reason of persecution or multitude of Hamlets and free Chapels which haue commonly very small stipends for the Minister, honest godly men, vppon the discretion of the Gouernors of the Church, haue and might be brought in to serue in the want of learned men, in prayer, administration of Sacraments, good example of life, and in some sort of exhortation. And this man, therefore, when the Bishop founde him by good and long experience to be one that feared God, to be conuersant in the scriptures, and of very honest life and conuersation [conduct]: he allowed of him to serue in a small congregation at *Padington*, where commonly for the meannesse of the stipend, no preacher coulde be had, as in many places it commeth to passe where the Parsonage is impropriat, and the prouision for the Vicar or Curat is very smal. And how this poore man behaued himselfe there, time and tryall proued him: for he continued in that place with good liking of the people 8. or 9. yeres, till he grew dull of sight for age, and thereby vnable for to serue any longer. [The examples of what the churches of Spain and Africa did in a time of distress are then quoted.] But Martin and his complices, hauing a desire to throwe out of the Church, the booke of common prayer, would rather haue the Churches serued by none, then by such as by prayer and administration of Sacraments should keepe the people together in godly assemblies. . . . For most true it is, that the said B. admitteth none to orders, but such as he himself doth examine in his owne person in poynts of Diuinitie, and that in the latin tongue, in the hearing of many: whereby it commeth to passe, that none lightly come at him, but such as be Graduats, and of the vniuersities.'—Bishop Cooper's *Admonition*, pp. 53—55. It needed much assurance to pen this defence when multitudes of learned and pious ministers were being deprived, many because they could not take an unreasonable oath concerning the total contents of the book of Common Prayer, which nevertheless they were willing to use, and others because they 'scrupled the garments' as many of the Bishops secretly did. It added nothing to the episcopal defence that because the parochial income of the Church at Paddington was given away to some non-resident laymau, the living was only good enough to pension off Aylmer's purblind gate porter. Martin's remark on the Bishop's defence is seen in HAY ANY WORKE, p. 278. The circumstance was cited by the learned author of *A Petition directed to her Majestie* among the proofs that the Church needed further reformation (p. 6, § 4).

any? John London (and Doctor Stanhope, too). Who | bound 20
an Essex minister in £200 to wear the surplice on Easter Day last? John London. Who hath cut down the elms at Fulham? John London (1). Who is a carnal defender of the breach of the Sabbath in all places of his abode? John London. Who forbiddeth men to humble themselves in fasting and prayer before the Lord, and then can say unto the preachers, 'Now you were best tell the people that we forbid fasts'? John London. Who goeth to bowls upon the Sabbath? (2) Dumb, duncical John of good London, hath done all this.

(1) The charge against Aylmer that he greedily cut down the timber on his episcopal estate assumed a more serious aspect than would be gathered from his defence. After denying that Madox [see p. 49] had called him Mar-elm, he says: 'Here might be noted how *Doctor Perne* being at no meane mans table, and hearing of such slanderous rayling of felling of the Elmes at *Fulham*, he asked one of the company being an ancient lawyer, howe long the Elmes of Fulham had been felled. Said the Lawyer, some halfe yere past. Now truly saide Doctor Perne, they are marucilouslie growen in that time, for I assure I vvas there vvithin these foure daies. and they seeme to be tvvo hundred yeares old. And maister *Vicechamberlaine* at her Maiesties being at *Fulham*, tolde the Bishop that her Maiestie misliked nothing, but that her Highnesse lodging was kept from all good prospects by the thicknesse of the trees. Lo, you may see hereby, that the Libeller to set out his *Pasquill* [lampoon], raketh all things by all reportes from all the Sycophants (?) in the world, and maketh no choice of man or matter, so ithat it may serue his turne.'—Bishop Cooper's *Admonition*, p. 56. The case against the Bishop came first before the Council in May, 1579. He was charged with felling and selling 'three hundred timber trees at one time, and an hundred at another, and some more besides at another,' besides disposing of 'a great number of acres of wood at divers times.' There appeared sufficient truth in the accusation to justify the Lord Treasurer in openly blaming him and bluntly reminding him 'that there was a bishop once displaced for such a deed.' Aylmer did not rest easily under this reprimand and persisted that he had only felled 'pollards, doated and decayed at the top,' and of them not so many as reported. He acknowledged that in the three preceding years he had sold one hundred and twenty acres of wood, though not deriving so much money from the transaction as was alleged. The matter dragged on for the next six months, when further letters from the Queen were directed to the Bishop, making inquiries into 'the felling of those woods.' 'This ended at length with a restraint from her Majesty, that the Bishop hereafter should take down no more of his woods.'—Strype's *Aylmer*, pp. 46—48. Much to his annoyance the charge was renewed in the year 1585 'by one Litchfield, a Court musician.' The Lord Treasurer in this case 'shewed himself . . . his greatest friend.' Aylmer protested that he had not felled a single tree since the Queen's injunction, but that the timber was being plundered by his woodwards. Litchfield soon after died and the matter dropped.—*Ibid.*, pp. 66, 67. But when Bancroft entered upon the see of London he roundly alleged 'that Bishop Aylmer made £6,000 of his woods [say £30,000 of our money], and left scarce enough to find the present Bishop yearly fuel.' *Ibid.*, p. 128.

(2) Aylmer justifies his conduct. 'And for iesting at the Bishop for bowling vpon the Sabboth, you must vnderstand that the best expositor of the

I will for this time leave this figure, and tell your Venerable Masterdoms a tale worth the hearing. I had it at the second hand; if he that told it me added anything, I do not commend him, but I forgive him. The matter is this. A man dying in Fulham, made one of the Bishop of London's men his executor. The man had bequeathed certain legacies unto a poor shepherd in the town. The shepherd could get nothing of the Bishop's man, and therefore made his moan unto a gentleman of Fulham, that belongeth to the Court of Requests. The gentleman's name is Master Madox. The poor man's case came to be tried in the Court of Requests. The Bishop's man desired his master's help. Dumb John wrote to the Masters of Requests to this effect, and I think these were his words:

'My Masters of Requests, the bearer hereof, being my man, hath a cause before you. Inasmuch as I understand how the matter standeth, I pray you let my man be discharged the Court, and I will see an agreement made. Fare you well.'

The letter came to Master Doctor Dale. He answered it in this sort:

'My lord of London, this man delivered your letter. I pray you give him his dinner on Christmas day for his labour. And fare you well.'

Sabboth, which is Christ, hath saide, that the Sabboth was made for man, and not man for the Sabboth: and man may haue his meate dressed for his health vpon the Sabboth, and why may he not then haue some conuenient exercise of the body, for the health of the body?'—Bishop Cooper's *Admonition* p. 57. 'If you can charge the Bishop that euer he withdrew himself from Sermon or seruice by any such exercise, you might bee the bolder with him: but contrariwise it is wel knowen that he and his whole familie doeth euery day in the weeke twice say the whole seruice, calling vpon God for them selues, the State, and the Qucenes Maiestie, praying for her highnesse by that meanes deuoutly and heartily many times. *Ibid.*, pp. 57, 58. The reference to 'her Highnesse' was doubtless prudent. See Martin's remarks, HAY ANY WORKE, p. 279.

The full force of the accusation of playing bowls on the Sabbath will be better understood, if we call to mind that the *Book of Sports*, the reading of which was such an offence to the puritan conscience, while regulating the recreations which the people might indulge in after the early service on Sunday was over, although it permitted 'witson ales' and 'morris dances,' rowdy and drunken affairs though they were, yet excluded bowls. 'Withal prohibiting all unlawful games to be used on Sundays only; as bear-baiting, interludes, and at all times (in the meaner sort of people prohibited) bowling.' *Book of Sports*, published May 24, 1618; quoted by Neal, *History*, II., 105.

Dumb John not speeding this way, sent for the said Master Madox. He came; some rough words passed on both sides. Presbyter John said Master Madox was very | saucy, especially seeing he knew before whom he spake; 21
namely, the Lord of Fulham. Whereunto the gentleman answered that he had been a poor freeholder in Fulham before Don John came to be Lord there, hoping also to be so when he and all his brood, my Lady his daughter and all, should be gone. At the hearing of this speech, the wasp got my Brother by the nose, which made him in his rage to affirm that he would be Lord of Fulham as long as he lived, in despite of all England. 'Nay, soft there,' quoth Master Madox, 'Except her Majesty, I pray you.' 'That is my meaning,' quoth (1) Dumb John. 'And I tell thee, Madox, thou art but a Jack to use me so.' Master Madox replying said that indeed his name was John, and if every John were a Jack he was content to be a Jack. (There he hit my Lord over the thumbs.) The Bishop growing in choler said that Master Madox's name did show what he was; 'for,' saith he, 'thy name is Mad-ox, which declareth thee to be an unruly and mad beast.' Master Madox answered again that the Bishop's name, if it were descanted upon, did most significantly show his qualities. 'For,' said he, 'you are called Elmar; but you may be better called Mar-elm, for you have marred all the elms in Fulham, having cut them all down.' This far is my worthy story; as worthy to be printed as any part of Dean John's book, I am sure (2).

Item. May it please you that are Lord Bishops to show your brother Martin how you can escape the danger

(1) M. 'ka.'

(2) In his defence Aylmer says, 'the most reuerent Father the Archbishop of *Canterburie* examining that matter betweene the Bishop and *Maddockes*, with some other Bishops assisting him, founde the matter to make so sore against the Bishop [the Bishop, that is, to be the injured party] that *Maddockes* himself was content before them to aske him forgiuenes, and to promise that he would euer after have a reuerent regard of his dutie towards the saide Bishop, as his Ordinarie. For if he should so vntruely haue played with the name *Aelmer*, by turning it into Mar-elme, hee should haue spoken against his conscience, as he himselfe knoweth.' The Bishop, as already noted, ascribes the 'most shamefull vntrueth' to Lichfield, a musician, since deceased, and quotes Dr. Perne's vindication of himself on the score of cutting

of a *premunire*, seeing you urge her Majesty's subjects to subscribe clean contrary to the statute 13 Elizabeth? What have you to show for yourselves? For I tell you, I heard some say that for urging subscription you were well within the *premunire;* insomuch that you have been driven closely to buy your pardons. You have forfeited all that you have unto her Majesty, and your persons are void [devoid] of her Majesty's protection. You know the danger of a *premunire*,
22 I trow? Well, but tell me what | you have to show for yourselves? Her Majesty's prerogative, have you? Then I hope you have it under seal. No, I warrant you, her Majesty is too wise for that. For it shall never be said that she ever authorised such ungodly proceedings, to the dishonour of God and the wounding of the consciences of her best subjects. Seeing you have nothing to show that it is her Majesty's will, why should any man subscribe contrary to statute? Forsooth, men must believe such honest creatures as you are, on your words, must they? As though you would not

down the Fulham elms.* He then concludes, 'And for any Letter written by the maister of Requests so iestinglie as the Libeller reporteth, Maddockes hath deceiued him : for there vvas no such matter, nor the man for whom the Bishop wrote, was none of his seruant, nor is.'—Bishop Cooper's *Admonition*, pp. 55, 56. See Martin's brief comment on this in HAY ANY WORKE, f. 426. Strype gives us some further particulars about this ignoble squabble which occurred in April, 1588. Madox had married the daughter of a Fulham gentleman, and Strype conjectures that he is the same Madox 'of whom Sir John Harrington relates, how that this Bishop once told him, that his name expressed his nature, and that he was one of the *mad[d]est* beasts that ever he talked with.' There was a dispute about a pew in Fulham Church, and another about the right of way to some land belonging to the Bishop. It was true that in the affair of the shepherd's legacy the Court of Requests had refused the request of the Bishop, who thereupon sent for Maddocks, with the result we know. We also learn that Madox appeared at church with 'rapier and target' and thrust his mother and his sister into the Bishop's wife's seat. And there is an account of a collision between the Bishop's servants—retainers we might call them—and Madox, who was walking abroad with his wife, then in a delicate state of health. (Maddocks' letter of complaint and Aylmer's reply can be seen in the Lansdown MSS. 57, 68, 69.) The Bishop's attitude in these squabbles can be gathered from the satisfaction with which he notes that, when one of his men was set upon by Madox and two others, 'his single man housed them all.' We can well believe that Aylmer was 'a man of metal, and could use his hands well.' Strype's *Aylmer*, pp. 98, 99. See HAY ANY WORKE, p. 279.

* See above, p. 47.

lie! Yes, yes, bishops will lie like dogs. They were never yet well beaten for their lying.

May it please your honourable Worships to let worthy Martin understand why your Canterburiness and the rest of the Lord Bishops favour Papists and Recusants rather than Puritans? For if a Puritan preacher, having a Recusant in his parish, and shall go about to deal with the Recusant for not coming to church—'Sir,' will the Recusant say, 'you and I will answer the matter before his Grace (or other the High Commissioners, as Lord Bishops, Civilians (1)—I mean, Popish doctors of the bawdy Courts).' And as soon as the matter is made known to my Lord, the preacher is sure to go by the worst and the Recusant to carry all honesty. Yea, the preacher shall be 'a busy envious fellow,' 'one that doth not observe the Book, and conform himself according unto Order'; and perhaps go home by Beggar's Bush for any benefice he hath to live upon. For it may be the Bishops will be so good unto him as to deprive him for not subscribing. As for the Recusant he is known to be 'a man that must have the liberty of his conscience.' Is this good dealing, Brethren? And is it good dealing that poor men should be so troubled to the Chancellor's Court, that they are even weary of their lives, for such horrible oppression as there reigns. I tell you, Doctor Stanhope, for all you are so proud, a *premunire* will take you by the back, one day, for oppressing and tyrannizing over | her Majesty's subjects 23
as you do (2).

Doth your Grace remember what the Jesuit at Newgate said of you, namely, 'that my Lord of Canterbury should surely be a cardinal, if ever Popery did come again into England'? Yea, and that a brave cardinal, too! What a knave was this Jesuit! Believe me, I would not say thus much of my Lord of Canterbury for a thousand pound, lest a *scandalum magnatum* (3) should be had

(1) M. Secuillaines. (2) See above, p. 32, *note* (2).
(3) '*Scandalum magnatum* is an evil report invented or dispersed to the prejudice or slander of any great personage or officer of the Realm. The

against me. But, well fare him that said, Thought is free (1).

Pitifully complaining—Is there any reason, my Lord's Grace, why knave Thackwell, the printer, which printed Popish and traitorous Welsh books in Wales, should have more favour at your graceless hands than poor Waldegrave who never printed book against you, that containeth either treason or impiety. Thackwell is at liberty to walk where he will, and permitted to make the most he could of his press and letters (2); whereas Robert Waldegrave dares not show his face, for the bloodthirsty desire you have for his life, only for printing of books which toucheth the Bishops' mitres. You know that Waldegrave's printing press and letters were taken away; his press, being timber, was sawn and hewed in pieces, the ironwork battered and made unserviceable, his letters melted, with cases and other tools defaced (by John

punishment of w^ch^ is enacted by divers Statutes, viz. Westm. I. c. 33; 2 R[ich.] II. c. 5, and 12 R[ich.] II. c. 11.'—MS. *Dict. of Law Terms* (begin. of 17th cent.), Camb. Univ. Lib. (Dd. vi. 60.)

(1) In reply to the question, *Doth your Grace remember, &c.?* Whitgift boldly says, 'No truely, for he neuer heard of any such matter, but by this lewde Libeller: neyther doeth he thinke that there was ever such thing spoken. Schismatikes are impudent lyars, the worlde knoweth what he hath euer bene, and vvhat he is: he doth disdaine to answer such senselesse calumniations.'—Bishop Cooper's *Admonition*, p. 41. Notwithstanding the unrestrained heat of this repudiation, we learn from Strype that the Jesuit alluded to was Charles Ballard of Rheims, one of those deeply concerned in the Babbington Conspiracy and executed on that account. While a prisoner in the Tower Sir Francis Knollys, in whose charge he was, writes of him [Oct. 15th, 1586] that 'he obstinately affirmed he would require no better books to prove his doctrine of Popery by, than the Archbishop's writings against Cartwright, and his Injunctions set forth in her Majesty's name.' The Archbishop and Bishops, though acknowledging her Majesty as supreme governor in ecclesiastical affairs, 'did not keep their Courts in her Majesty's name, but by virtue of Popish Canons'; and while the primitive Bishops were only lords and magistrates in the name of the Prince, Elizabeth's Bishops were lords of absolute power, ruling without appeal.—Strype's *Whitgift*, i. 506, 507. See below, HAY ANY WORKE, f. 256, *note* (2).

(2) Of Thackwell we find no further account. It may be safely assumed that Martin's statement about the Welsh books is true, since Whitgift does not deny it, transferring, indeed, the entire responsibility to his convenient tool Richard Young. 'That which hee speaketh of *Thackwell* the Printer &c. is a matter nothing pertaining to him. M. *Richard Yong*, was the dealer therein without his priuitie, who is able to justify his doings in that matter, and to conuince the libeller of a malicious slander.'—Bishop Cooper's *Admonition*, p. 41. See also HAY ANY WORKE, p. 272, for Martin's response to the foregoing.

Wolf, alias Machiavel, beadle of the Stationers, and most tormenting executioner of Waldegrave's goods (1)); and he himself utterly deprived for ever [of] printing again; having a wife and six children. Will this monstrous cruelty never be revenged think you? When Waldegrave's goods was to be spoiled and defaced, there were some printers that, rather than all the goods should be spoiled, offered money for it, towards the relief of the man's wife and children; but this could not be obtained. And yet Popish Thackwell, though he printed Popish and traitorous books, may have the favour to make money of his press and letters. And reason | to[o]. For Waldegrave's profession over- 24
throweth the popedom of Lambeth; but Thackwell's Popery maintaineth the same. And now that Waldegrave hath neither press nor letters, his Grace may dine and sup the quieter. But look to it, Brother Canterbury. Certainly without your repentance, I fear me you shall be Hildebrand indeed. Waldegrave hath left house and home by reason of A Firebrand indeed.
your unnatural tyranny, having left behind him a poor wife

(1) John Wolf, the beadle, was variously concerned with the Marprelate controversy; although earlier in his career he had been himself the possessor of unlicensed presses. 'John Wolf hath iii presses and ii more since found in a secret Vau[l]t.'—Arber's *Registers*, I., p. 298. As Beadle to the Stationers' Company he carried out the seizure and destruction of Waldegrave's press. From Dr. Arber I take the following interesting particulars.

'May 13. 1588. Whereas Master Coldock *Warden*, Thomas Woodcock, Oliver Wilkes and John Wolf, on the 16 of April last, vpon search of Robert Walgraues house, did seise of his and bring to Stationers hall, according to the late decrees of the Starre-chamber, and by vertue thereof A presse with twoo paire of cases, with certaine Pica Romane and Pica Italian letters with divers books entituled: *The state of the Churche of England laid open, &c.* [commonly known as *Diotrephes*]. For that the said Walgrave without auethority, and contrary to the said Decrees had printed the said book. Yt is now in full court—ordered and agreed by force of the said decrees, and according to the same, That the said books shall be burnte and the said presse, letters and printing stuffe defaced and made vnserviceable.' [Given in Ames's *Typ. Ant.*, Herbert's ed. (1786), ii. 1145.]

Then from the Stationers' *Registers* we learn that Wolf went to Croydon to consult Whitgift about the matter at a cost of 4*s.* [say 24*s.*], and afterwards carried the decision out at a charge of 12 pence [say 6*s.*]. Wolf, in addition, was occupied as a printer in the Marprelate controversy. He entered at Stationers' Hall the following works: *A Myrrour for Martynistes* (Dec. 22nd, 1589); *An Admonicion to Martin Marprelat and his mates* (Jan. 19th, 1590).—Arber's *Introductory Sketch to the Martin Marprelate Controversy*, pp. 140, 141. (The entries are taken from his *Transcript of the Stationers' Registers, &c.*, vol. ii., ed. 1875.) Wolf was the printer of Bancroft's books. He is referred to later on at p. 84, *note* (2).

and six orphans, without anything to relieve: for the husband you have bereaved both of his trade and goods. Be you assured that the cry of these will one day prevail against you, unless you desist from persecuting (1).

More knavery.

And, good your Grace, I do now remember myself of another printer that had press and letter [type] in a place called Charterhouse in London, in anno 1587, near about the time of the Scottish Queen's death (2). Intelligence was given unto your good Grace of the same, by some of the Stationers of London. It was made known unto you what work was in hand; what letter the book was on; what volume, viz. in 8°, in half-sheets; what workmen wrought on the same, namely, I. C. (3), the Earl of Arundel's man, and three of his servants, with their several names; what liberality was bestowed on those workmen, and by whom, &c.

Your Grace gave the Stationers the hearing of this matter; but to this day the parties were never called *in coram* for it. But yet, by your leave, my Lord, upon this information unto your honourable Worship, the Stationers had news that it was made known unto the printers what was done unto your good Grace; and, presently, instead of the work which was in hand, there was other appointed; as they say, authorized by your Lordship. I will not say it

Is not he a very Pope indeed, that thus hideth Popery and knavery?

(1) Whitgift's scornful retort that Waldegrave only got his deserts is given in HAY ANY WORKE, p. 273, *note* (1). A full account is given in the same Tract (pp. 272 *et seq.*) of the Archbishop's harsh treatment of Waldegrave, together with a graphic recital of the manner in which the pursuivants broke into his house in the night—when he was away. As a matter of fact he was at Fawsley printing the EPITOME.

(2) Mary was put to death, Feb. 8th, 1587.

(3) From Herbert's Ames' *Typ. Antiq.* we learn that I. C. was John Charlewood, Charlwood, or Charlewoode, a member of the Stationers' Company. He carried on, in partnership with one Tysdale, a printing establishment as early as the days of Queen Mary at 'The Half Eagle and the Key' in Barbican. He was several times fined for printing without licence. The following is one such record:—

> '26 Mar. 1580 for printing a lewde book, and that without Lycence, V s.'

A MS. note in Herbert's own copy of the *Typ. Antiq.* at the British Museum states that Charlewood was 'originally of the Grocers' Comp.' Ob. 1593. See HAY ANY WORKE, p. 272. Charlewood is entered in the list of July, 1586, as having two licensed presses. See Arber's *Trans. of the Stationers' Reg.*, V. ii.

was your own doing; but by your sleeve—thought is free. And, my good Lord—nay you shall be none of 'my Lord,' but Master Whitgift, and you will—are you partial or no in all your actions, tell me? Yes, you are; I will stand to it! Did you get a decree in the High | Court of Star Chamber only for Waldegrave? If it be in general, and you not partial, why fet [fetch] you not that printing press and letters out of Charterhouse, and destroy them as you did Waldegrave's? Why did you not apprehend the parties? Why?—because it was Popery at the least that was printed in Charterhouse; and that maintaineth the crown of Canterbury. And what is more tolerable than Popery? (1).

It may be you hindered her Majesty of many thousands of pounds.

Did not your Grace of late erect a new printer contrary to the foresaid decree, one Thomas Orwine (who sometimes wrought Popish books in corners, namely, *Jesus Psalter, Our Lady's Psalter,* &c.) (2), with condition [that] he should print no such seditious books as Waldegrave hath done? Why, my Lord, Waldegrave never printed anything against the State, but only against the usurped state of your Paltripolitanship, and your pope-holy brethren, the Lord

(1) Whitgift to this replies, 'The Calumniation touching the Presse and Letters in the Charterhouse (which presse *Waldgraue* himselfe soulde to one of the *Earle of Arundels* men, as it is since confessed) must receiue the same answere with the other of *Thackwell:* sauing that to M. *Yong* must be added also, some other of greater authority, who can tel *Martin* that his spirite is not the spirit of God, which is the spirit of trueth, but the spirite of Sathan, the author of lyes. Charge them, O shamlesse man, with this matter, who are able to answere thee, and not the Archbishop, whome it toucheth not, though it becommeth not euery common and base person, to demaund an account of the doings of men in authoritie.'—Bishop Cooper's *Admonition,* p. 42. The point in the reference to the Earl of Arundel is that he was a Papist. Waldegrave avers that he sold his press to I. C., an authorised printer of his own company, with the warden's consent.—HAY ANY WORKE, pp. 272 *et seq.*

(2) Whitgift replies, 'Hee erected no newe Printer, contrary to that decree [restricting the liberty of printing]: but vsed means by vvay of persvvasion for that party, commended to him by his neighbours, to be a very honest and poore man, hauing maried also the vvidowe of a Printer: and hee did vvery vvell like and allovve of his placing by such as haue interest therein. Neither did hee euer heare, (but by this Libeller vvho hath no conscience in lying) that hee euer printed any such bookes. This I knowe of a certaintie, that *Thomas Orwin* himselfe hath vpon his booke oath denied, that he euer printed, either *Iesus Psalter* or *Our Lady Psalter,* or that he euer was any worker about them, or about any the like bookes. *But the poisoned serpent careth not whome hee stingeth.*—Bishop Cooper's *Admonition,* pp. 42, 43.

Bishops, and your antichristian swinish rabble, being intolerable withstanders of Reformation, enemies of the Gospel, and most covetous, wretched and Popish priests.

Now, most pitifully complaining Martin Marprelate: That the Papists will needs make us believe that our good John of Canterbury and they are at no great jar in religion. For Reynolds the Papist of Rheims (1), in his book against Master Whitaker's, commendeth the works written by his Grace for the defence of the corruption in our church, against T. Cartwright, and saith that the said John Cant. hath many things in him which evidently show a Catholic persuasion (2). Alas, my Masters, shall we lose our Metropolitan in this sort? Yet, the note is a good note: that we may take heed the Spaniards steal him not away, it were not amiss if her Majesty knew of it (3). We need not fear, if we can keep him, the Spaniards and our other Popish enemies; because our Metropolitan's religion and theirs differ not much. In the Article of Christ's descending into Hell they jump in one, right pat; and in the maintenance
26 of the hierarchy of the bishops, and ascribing the | name of priest unto them that are ministers of the Gospel (4).

(1) The brothers William and John Reynolds are noted for the fact that, one being a Papist and the other a Protestant, and being engaged in a controversy, they succeeded each in converting the other. William, once a Protestant, became a Catholic and settled at the English seminary at Rheims. Whitaker (Bellarmine's 'most learned heretic') carried on a series of controversies with the champions of the Papacy. Among them he attacked Nicolas Saunders' *Forty Demonstrative Arguments to prove that the Pope was not Antichrist*. W. Reynolds intervened in this discussion, and Martin asserts that in his book he spoke favourably of Whitgift. See Brook's *Lives*, *sub nom.* W. Whitaker; also THE MINERALLS, § 26, p. 191.

(2) Whitgift replies, 'It is no disparagement to receiue testimonie of a mans aduersarie: and therefore if Master *Reinolds* haue given that commendation to his booke in comparison of others, it is no impeachment to the trueth thereof. I haue not seene *Reinolds* his booke: the Libel is so full of lies, that an honest man can not beleeue any thing conteined in it.'—Bishop Cooper's *Admonition*, pp. 43, 44.

(3) The Archbishop was wanting in a sense of humour when he permitted himself to reply gravely and with some heat to this piece of banter. He says, 'That *of the Spaniards stealing him away, &c.* is foolish and ridiculous. I would the best *Martinist* in *England* durst say it to his face before witnesse.'—*Ibid.* He would evidently summon up all the power and dignity appertaining to his office to break this fly upon the wheel; provided only there be witnesses present.

(4) On the general accusation of his leaning to Popery, Whitgift says, 'I doe not thinke that eyther hee [Martin Marprelate] or any *Martinist* euer

I know not whether my next tale will be acceptable unto his Grace or not. But have it among you, my Masters!

Master Wigginton, pastor of Sidborough [or Sedbergh] (1), is a man not altogether unknown unto you. And I think his worshipful Grace got little or nothing by meddling with him, although he hath deprived him. My tale is of his deprivation, which was after this sort. The good quiet people of Sidborough being troubled for certain years with the said Wigginton, and many of them being infected by him with the true knowledge of the Gospel by the Word preached (which is an heresy that his Grace doth mortally abhor and persecute) at length grew in disliking (with) their pastor, because the severe man did urge nothing but obedience unto the Gospel. Well they came to his Grace to find a remedy hereof; desiring him that Wigginton might be deprived. His Grace could find no law to deprive him; no, although the pastor defied the Archbishop to his face, and would give him no better title than John Whitgift;

heard any Papist say, that there vvas no great iarre betvveene the Papistes and the Archbishop in matters of Religion. [But see the opinion of Ballard, the Jesuit conspirator, *ante*, p. 52, *note* (1).] If they did, vvhat is that to him [the Archbishop]? I thinke *Martin* him selfe doubteth not of the Archbishops soundnesse in such matters of Religion, as are in controuersie betwixt the Papists and vs. If hee doe, the matter is not great. The *Vniversitie* of *Cambridge*, where hee liued aboue thirtie yeeres, and publiquely red the Diuinitie Lecture aboue seuen yeeres, and other places where he hath since remained, vvill testify for him therein, and condemne the Libeller for a meere *Sycophant*, and me also of follie, for ansvvering so godlesse and lewde a person.'—Bishop Cooper's *Admonition*, p. 43. The use of the first person in this last sentence is to be noted.

In regard to the vexed question of the *Descensus*, the reply is very feeble. 'Hee firmly beleeueth that Christ in soule descended into hell. All the *Martinists* in Christendome are not able to proue to the contrary: and they that indeuour it, doe abuse the scriptures, and fall into many absurdities.'—*Ibid.*, p. 44. See MINERALLS, § 3, p. 186; HAY ANY WORKE, pp. 271, 280.

On the title 'priest' it is of great importance, in ascertaining the ecclesiastical views of the Elizabethan Bishops, to observe that Whitgift while retaining the name disclaims its Popish connotation. 'As for the name of Priest, as they [the Papists] take it, hee doth likewise condemne in our Ministers.'—*Admonition*, p. 45. It is true that Whitgift's creed was Evangelical, and even Calvinistic; his ecclesiasticism it was that laid him open to Martin's charge of Popery. But on the general question of his relation to the Papal Church the reader is referred to the *Historical Introduction*, chap. II.; esp. pp. sec. iv. 99 ff.

(1) 'Vicar of Sedberge and Dent in the north parts,' Strype entitles him. Sedbergh is in the North Riding, close to the borders of Westmoreland.

such bug's words being in these days, accounted no less than high treason against a Paltripolitan: though since that time I think his Grace hath been well inured to bear the name of Pope of Lambeth, John Cant. the prelate of Lambeth, with divers other titles agreeable to his function. Well, Sidborough men proceeded against their pastor. His Grace would not deprive him, because he could find no law to warrant him therein; and he will do little contrary to law, for fear of a *premunire;* unless it be at a dead lift (1) to deprive a Puritan preacher. Then, indeed, he will do against law, against God, and against his own conscience, rather than that heresy of preaching should prevail.

One man of Sidborough, whose name is Atkinson, was very eager, among the rest, to have his pastor deprived; and, because his Grace would not hear them, but departed away, this Atkinson desired his Grace to resolve him and his neighbours of one point, which something troubled
27 | them. And that was, whether his Grace or Wigginton were of the devil. 'For,' quoth he, 'you are both so contrary the one from the other, that both of you cannot possibly be of God. If he be of God, it is certain you are of the devil, and so cannot long stand; for he will be your overthrow. Amen. If you are of God, then he is of the devil, as we think him to be. And so he being of the devil, will not you deprive him? Why should you suffer such a one to trouble the Church? Now, if he be of God, why is your course so contrary to his; and, rather, why do not you follow him, that we may do so too? Truly, if you do not deprive him, we will think him to be of God, and go home with him, with gentler good will towards him than we came hither with hatred; and look you for a fall.' His Grace, hearing this northern logic, was moved on a sudden, you must think, [and] promised to deprive Wigginton. And so he did.

This Atkinson this winter, 1587, came up to London, being as it seemed afflicted in conscience for this fact,

(1) In an extremity. See in the marginal, *ante*, p. 27, *note* (2).

desired Wigginton to pardon him, and offered to kneel before her Majesty, that Wigginton might be restored again to his place, and to stand to the truth hereof to his Grace's teeth. The man is yet alive. He may be sent for, if you think Master Martin hath reported an untruth. No, I warrant you, you shall not take me to have fraught my book with lies and slaunders, as John Whitgift, and the Dean of Sarum did theirs. I speak not of things by hearsay, as of reports; but I bring my witnesses to prove my matters (1).

(1) Giles Wigginton occupies a somewhat prominent place in the Marprelate controversy, as is shown in the *Hist. Intro.* He gave particular offence to the Archbishop by his personal demeanour towards him at his trial. Wigginton was something of what we commonly call a 'character,' and certainly destitute of all fear of the little Archbishop, as may be seen in his racy and sharp replies to him when under examination. Whitgift charges him with being 'malapert,' a 'laughing stocke' as a youth, and increasingly foolish as man, 'ridiculous cuen to his owne faction.' It was the best of the parishioners that witnessed against him. Whitgift calls his faults 'enormities,' but it must be remembered that they were ecclesiastical and not moral faults. He also says that 'the tale of *Atkinson* is a lowde, notorious, and knowen lie.'—Bishop Cooper's *Admonition*, pp. 45, 46. Wigginton was one of those whom rumour suspected of being 'Martin'; even Nicholas Tomkins, the servant in Mrs. Crane's notorious Puritan household, where Wigginton was a welcome guest, gives him as one of the men charged with being the 'great unknown.' He was one of the first to receive copies of the Tracts, and if anyone knew their true author it was he. This question has, however, been sufficiently discussed; here we have only to indicate his relations with Whitgift. He went to Cambridge under the patronage of Sir Walter Mildmay, the founder of Emmanuel College, a privy councillor, and under-treasurer to the Exchequer. Wigginton was chosen a fellow of Trinity, his own college, 'though much opposed by Dr. Whitgift, then head of the House.' And the opposition continued throughout Wigginton's career; for it must be admitted that Whitgift showed something like genius in his alertness and unwearied persistence in hunting down all who opposed his ecclesiastical policy. Appointed to Sedbergh in the North Riding, Wigginton soon roused the opposition of the anti-Puritan party, so that Sandys, Archbishop of York, advises the Bishop of Chester not to allow him to preach in his diocese; Sedbergh at the time was in the see of Chester. Three years later, in 1584, he is in London, being appointed, despite his Puritanism, to preach at St. Dunstan's before the Judges. Hearing of the appointment on the day previous Whitgift sent his pursuivants, who only reached Wigginton's lodgings in the middle of the night, to prohibit him from preaching; and next day had him over to Lambeth to give an account of himself. Refusing the oath *ex officio mero*, by which he would be required to answer any question upon any subject in regard to any person, there being meanwhile no definite charge and no witnesses, Wigginton chose rather to go to prison. He was sent with much reviling from the Archbishop to the Gatehouse at Westminster, where he remained 'nine weeks but a day.' Whitgift did not long lose sight of him. Upon the information of one Edward Middleton, 'a man of profane character and a suspected Papist,' Whitgift ordered Sandys to proceed to his deprivation. His living was then given to a man of immoral character named Colecloth, and himself sent, under

May it please you to yield unto a suit that I have to your Worships. I pray you send Wigginton home unto his charge again. I can tell you it was a foul oversight [want of sight] in his Grace to send for him out of the north to London, that he might outface him at his own door. He would do his Canterburyness less hurt if he were at his charge, than now he doth.

Let the Templars have Master Travers their preacher restored again unto them. He is now at | leisure to work your priesthood a woe, I hope. If such another book as the *Ecclesiastical Discipline* was, drop out of his budget, it were as good for the Bishops to lie a day and a night in 'Little Ease' in the Counter (1). He is an odd fellow in

harsh circumstances, to Lancaster Gaol. One hundred and forty of his parishioners at Sedbergh, for hearing him preach and receiving the eucharist at his hands, after his deprivation, were excommunicated; the harshness of the sentence being intensified by their having to travel from sixty to eighty miles to attend their trial. The next year, 1586, Wigginton is again before the Archbishop, and, refusing the oath *ex officio*, and to accuse himself, he is sent to the White Lion in Southwark and there treated with great barbarity. Writing to Sir Walter Mildmay, his constant friend, he says the keeper 'by the archbishop's strict charge so loaded me with irons, confined me in close prison, and deprived me of necessary food, that in about five weeks I was nearly dead.' He further intreats justice—he wants not mercy. 'My old adversary the archbishop hath treated me more like a *Turk* or a *dog* than a man or a Christian minister.' He was released and again imprisoned in the Compter; released and again summoned to Lambeth (Dec. 6th, 1588) and sent to the Gatehouse, and is supposed to have remained there till about the time he was restored to his benefice at Sedburgh in 1592. A letter is extant addressed by him to Burghley and dated April 4th, 1597, and is referred to in the article on Wigginton in the *D. N. B.* It is included in the *Lansd. MSS.* (vol. 84, art. 105). Its purport is to commend to the favourable judgment of the Lord Treasurer the proposal to found a seminary where young men could be trained to meet Roman Catholic priests in controversy. He accompanies the letter by a MS. of his own entitled 'A Paire of Ridles against the Philistynes of Rome.' This is the last date we have in connection with his life. The date of his death is not known. He wrote in prison a work on *Predestination*, and also '*Giles Wigginton his Catechisme*' (London, 1589, 8°). Strype also says he wrote *The fool's bolt*, also entitled *A father's Exhortation to a young Courtier*, which he describes as a 'halting rhyme, roaring lewdly' both at Church and State. He also informs us that it greatly influenced 'the madman Hacket.' But all Strype's references are strongly biased by the misrepresentations of Cosins' work on the Hacket Conspiracy. See especially Brook's *Lives*, i. 418, Cooper's *Ath. Cantab.*, ii. 529, Neal's *Hist. of the Puritans* (1822), i. 377, Platt's *Hist. of Sedburgh* (1876), p. 17, and art. in the *D. N. B.* already cited.

(1) The Counter, or Compter, was the name of several London prisons. The reference is probably to the Wood Street Counters. See the brief account of the London prisons in the *Historical Introduction*, p. 131; also reference to 'Little Ease,' *ibid.*, p. 130.

following an argument; and you know he hath a smooth tongue either in Latin or English. And if my Lord of Winchester understood either Greek or Hebrew, as they say he hath no great skill in neither, I would pray your Priestdoms to tell me which is the better scholar, Walter Travers or Thomas Cooper (1).

(1) Walter Travers was a leading figure in the ecclesiastical controversies of the day. Owing to the rigorous terms of subscription imposed upon candidates, Travers was ordained at Antwerp, after the manner of the foreign Reformed Churches. He gained some notoriety by his opposition to Hooker, then Master of the Temple, on which foundation also Travers was Lecturer, one of the few posts he could fill conscientiously, as it demanded no subscription to Whitgift's intolerant Articles. The benchers, strongly supported by Burghley and others, would have elected Travers to the mastership; but Whitgift, with unfailing alertness, had the Queen apprised of Travers' various disqualifications. The fact was, however, that Travers had already shown his friends the impossibility of his accepting the position. 'I declined the place, because I could not subscribe to my lord of Canterbury's late articles, which I would not do for the mastership of the Temple, or any other place in the church.'—Travers' *Supplication* (1612), quoted by Brook, *Lives*, ii. 326. See Hooker's *Eccles. Pol.* (Oxford, 1850), vol. II., pp. 654—695; Strype's *Whitgift*, i. 340 ff.; and the article in the *D. N. B.* with the reff. there given. Travers made an important contribution to the religious controversy of his age by writing (anonymously) *Ecclesiasticæ Disciplinæ et Anglicanæ Ecclesiæ ab illa aberrationis*, printed at Rochelle, *cir.* 1574. This gave literary form and order to the scattered and unco-ordinated ideas of a large section of the Puritans; the discipline advocated being that of presbyter (elder), deacon, and teacher, with a rigorous moral supervision of the life of the church—a work which was not attempted by Field and Wilcox's *Admonition to Parliament*, nor by Cartwright in the extended controversy with Whitgift arising out of its publication; and still proceeding in 1574. The plan and perspective of the contributions of Cartwright and Whitgift to that memorable controversy were too entirely determined by the exigencies of debate. An English translation, furnished with a brief preface, both generally ascribed to Cartwright, of Travers' Latin treatise appeared immediately, under the title—a literal translation of the original—*A full and plaine declaration of Ecclesiasticall Discipline*, &c., the book referred to by Martin as the *Ecclesiastical Discipline* and ascribed by him to Travers as a matter of course; a foreign quarto in black letter (? secretary type) printed, so the British Museum catalogue conjectures, at Middleburg in Zeeland; pp. xii. + 194. This is the volume, as already stated (see above, p. 36), which, owing to the mistake, originally, of Petheram, has been mistaken by all subsequent writers for *A Briefe and plaine declaration*, the little tract which by its popularity called forth Dean Bridges' ponderous reply, and, consequentially, the Marprelate Tracts. See *Hist. Intro.*, 135 *et seq.* Travers, being silenced by Whitgift, was for some years provost of Trinity College, Dublin. He died, after 1624, in obscurity and poverty. A full account of him is given in Brook's *Lives*, ii. 314—330. In his bibliography Brook gives the Latin title of Travers' work under the shortened form of *De disciplina Ecclesiastica ex Dei verbo descripta*, the form under which the same volume is described in the XXXI. Articles exhibited against Cartwright before the High Commission (Sept. 1st, 1590) and there ascribed to him as author. Brook falls into error in identifying the volume he thus describes with the *Directory*, said to have been found in Cartwright's study after his decease, which came

Will you not send Master Wyburn to Northampton, that he may see some fruits of the seed he sowed there sixteen or eighteen years ago. That old man Wyburn hath more good learning in him, and more fit gifts for the ministry in his little toe, than many braces of our Lord Bishops. Restore him to preaching again; for shame! (1)

Except persecuting Greenfield.

Master Paget shall be welcome to Devonshire. He is more fit to teach men than boys. I marvel with what face a man that had done so much good in the Church, as he did among a rude people, could be deprived (2).

into use when the authoritative use of the Book of Common Prayer was abolished under the Commonwealth. He could not have realised that the *Directory* was only an affair of 24 pp. 4to, printed in large type.

(1) It is almost certain that Martin is here guilty of a confusion of names, or else Waldegrave misread Martin's 'copy' and the error escaped his reader, Penry. 'Old man Wyburn,' the deprived Northampton minister, I cannot doubt should be 'Old man Merbury,' whose history fits Martin's allusions exactly. He was one of those at first suspected of being Martin himself; but the above reference would not favour that supposition [see *Hist. Intro.*, p. 281]. On the other hand, there is a well-known Puritan leader, Dr. Percival Wyburn, a prebendary of Westminster, and vicar of St. Sepulchre's, Holborn, who was sequestered by Parker in 1564. He was esteemed 'a peaceable Nonconformist,' and had some liberty accorded him of preaching. Convented again in 1571, he made great efforts to satisfy the prelates, but was obliged to 'scruple the vestments.' Later he was a preacher at Rochester, and in 1581 was nominated one of the divines who were to dispute with the Papists. He was subsequently suspended, but towards the close of his life was a preacher at Battersea. In the fairly full record we have of the main incidents of his ministry he does not appear to have had any connection with Northampton. Penry, acting as Martin's press reader, would not know the ecclesiastical history of the town sixteen years before he first came to reside in it. See Brook's *Lives*, ii. 169. A letter defending the position held by his school, contained in *A Parte of a Register*, is ascribed to D[octor] W[yburn].

(2) Eusebius Paget (or Pagit) was a singularly unfortunate member of the Puritan party. He has already been referred to as one of those suspected of having a hand in the Tracts. *Hist. Intro.* p. 283. Suspended, not for the first time, by Bishop Scambler in 1574, he got into further trouble, and into prison eventually, for taking part in Presbyterian worship. He, however, on obtaining his release, obtained the living of Kilkhampton in Devon on the understanding that certain details of the Book of Common Prayer, which he was willing to use generally, should not be urged against him. After doing good work among the 'rude people,' he excited the envy of one Farmer, a curate of Barnstaple, who laid information against him.—*Second Part of a Register*, pp. 570, 574. Paget was in due course deprived; vainly complaining that he was promised by his 'ordinary' not to be pressed in regard to certain ceremonies; that the Bishops and others used greater liberties in altering and omitting the Prayer Book order; adding, which was certainly pertinent to the occasion, that the church was not provided with a copy of the Prayer Book. The irregularity of the proceedings of the High Commission was a more serious matter and is referred to elsewhere. Mean-

Briefly, may it please you to let the Gospel have a free course, and restore unto their former liberty in preaching all the preachers that you have put to silence. And this far is my first suit.

My second suit is a more earnest request unto you, that are hinderers of the publishing of [it, that] the Confutation of the Rhemish Testament by Master Cartwright may be published. A reasonable request, the granting whereof, I dare assure you, would be most acceptable unto all that fear God, and news of woeful sequel to the Papists. For shall I tell you what I heard once from the mouth of a man of great learning and deep judgment, who saw some part of Master Cartwright's answer to the said Rhemish and traitorous raffody (1) ? His judgment was this: that Master Cartwright had dealt so soundly against the Papists, that for the answering and confuting of the adversary (that) one work would be sufficient alone. He | farther added that 29 the adversary was confuted by strange and unknown reasons,

while, having a wife and numerous family, Paget set up a school, only to be driven presently from this last resource by an order demanding subscription from schoolmasters. His illustrious kinsman Admiral Sir John Hawkins, who throughout sympathised with him, saved the family from starvation. After Whitgift's death Paget obtained the living of St. Anne and St. Agnes, in Aldersgate, London, which he retained to the close of his life in 1617. While a youth at Oxford he broke his arm—it is said in carrying the pyx in a religious procession—and ever after signed himself '*Lame* Euseb. Paget.' Many writers have inferred that he was halt. But the maimed in arms and legs were alike called *lame*. Stowe in his *Survey of London*, describing Bridewell, speaks of machines which could be worked by prisoners 'lame in the arms.' It indicates how little acquainted with the facts were the literary hacks hired by the Bishops to write down Martin, that they describe Paget as 'polt-foot.' Thomas Nash, whom we assume to have written *The Returne of the renowned Cavaliero Pasquill*, states that 'Paget marshalleth the way with a couple of great clubbes, one in his foote, another in his head.' Sig. B. iii. vers. The author of *An Almond for a Parrat* (ed. Petheram, pp. 12, 34) improves the occasion to describe how Paget with 'one [leg] and a stump' ran away from Houns[low] on the publication of a gross scandal against him. But the limp and the scandal are the inventions of the scribe. See Neal's *Hist. of the Puritans*, i. 354 ; Brook's *Lives*, ii. 253 ; and the article in the *D. N. B.* Greenfield (see margin) may be Martin's substitute for Farmer. Strype (*Annals*, II., App. ii. 617) refers to a 'Mr. Greenfield of Devon' who was denounced by a notorious coiner as one of his clients. Paget is mentioned in THE JUST CENSURE, p. 584.

(1) ꝛ. Raffodie, with a capital letter as though it were a proper name. Strype transcribes it 'rhapsody.' It is probably a compound formed from raff = jumble, trash. Cp. riff-raff.

that would set them at their wit's end, when they see themselves assailed with such weapons; whereof they never once dreamt that they should be stroken at. And will your Grace, or any else that are hinderers of the publishing of this work, still bereave the Church of so worthy a jewel, nay, so strong an armour against the enemy? If you deny me this request, I will not threaten you; but my Brother Bridges' and John Whitgift's books shall smoke for this gear. I'll have my pennyworth's of them for it(1).

Now, may it please you to examine my Worthiness, your brother Martin, and see whether I said not true in the story of Giles Wigginton, where I have set down that Preaching the Word is an heresy, which his Grace doth mortally abhor and persecute? I can prove it without doubt. And, first, that he persecuteth the 'preaching of the Word'—whether it be an heresy or not—both in the preacher and in the hearer, the Articles of Subscription, the silencing of so many learned and worthy preachers, do evidently show. And if you doubt hereof, let my Worship understand thereof, and in my next treatise I shall prove the matter to be clear, with a witness; and, I hope, to your small commendations that will deny such a clear point.

On the other side, that he accounteth preaching to be an heresy; I am now to insist on the proof of that point. But first, you must know that he did not account simple

(1) The publication of the Reims New Testament with its bold scholar-like opening treatise and its controversial notes seemed a standing challenge to the evangelical reformers. The chief mover in its production was William Allen, afterwards a Cardinal, who in Mary's time was principal of St. Mary's Hall, Oxford and Canon of York. He fled to Douay, and being made a Canon at Reims, he had the English college moved for the time to that city. There in conjunction with Gregory Martin and Richard Bristow (or Bristol) he produced in 1582 an English translation of the Vulgate New Testament. (The whole Bible, bearing the imprint 'Doway' was published twenty-seven years later.) Queen Elizabeth is said to have invited Beza to confute it, who referred her to one of her own subjects better fitted for the task—Thomas Cartwright. Walsingham, who forwarded £100 towards the cost, and other eminent persons urged Cartwright to undertake the work; so also did a number of Cambridge scholars. In 1590 he writes that 'he had received commaundment from the Archbishop to deale no further in it.' He completed the work, but it was not printed until after his death in 1618. Permission to print Thomas Cartwright's reply was one of the Conditions of Peace stipulated by Martin. See below, par. 2, p. 80.

preaching to be an heresy; but to hold that 'preaching is the only ordinary means to salvation,' this he accounteth as an heresy, this is mortally condemned. The case thus stood. John Penry, the Welshman—I think his Grace and my brother London would be better acquainted with him and they could tell how—about the beginning of Lent, 1587, offered a supplication and a book to the Parliament, entreating that some order might be taken for calling his country to the knowledge of God (1). For | his bold attempt he was called before 80
his Grace, with others of the High Commission—as Thomas of Winchester, John London, &c. After that his Grace has eased his stomach in calling him 'boy,' 'knave,' 'varlet,' 'slanderer,' 'libeller,' 'lewd boy,' 'lewd slanderer,' &c. (this is *true*, for I have seen the notes of their conference), at the length, a point of his book began to be examined where nonresidents are thought intolerable. Here the Lord of good London asked Master Penry what he could say against that kind of cattle. Answer was made that they were odious in the sight of God and man, because as much as in them lie, they bereave the people over whom they thrust themselves, of the ordinary means of salvation, which was the Word preached. John London demanded whether preaching was the only means to salvation. Penry answered, that it was the only ordinary means, although the Lord was not so tied unto it, but that He could extraordinarily use other means. That preaching was 'the

(1) Dr. Arber has calculated this date to be Feb. 20th, 1588. If this were correct it would be a puzzle to know what work of Penry's, issued at or about this date, could be described as 'a supplication and a book to the Parliament.' The only books at all answering to this description which might be considered in this connection are *The Æquity of an Humble Supplication*, and the tract commonly called the *Supplication* [*A View of some part of such publike wants &c.*] The first of these must have been published in March, 1587 (see the interesting note by the Rev. Principal A. Gordon, Congl. Hist. Socy's *Transactions*, May, 1905); and the second we know definitely to have been published early in March, 1589. The one date is too early and the other too late to suit Dr. Arber's calculation. It seems clear to me, however, on carefully examining the facts, that he is mistaken. In the year 1587 Easter Day fell as late as April 16th, so that any one speaking of the Lent of that year, though generally following the Old Style, would mean the year 1586–7 and not the year 1587–8. The 'beginning of Lent' is not a precise statement of date, and in a year in which Easter Sunday fell after the middle of April we need not seek a difference between the Old Style and the New. The book was doubtless the *Æquity*.

only ordinary means'; he confirmed it by those places of Scripture—Rom. 10^{14}, 1 Cor. 1^{21}, Ephes. 1^{13}. This point being a long time canvassed, at the length his Worship of Winchester rose up and mildly, after his manner, brast [burst] forth into these words: 'I assure you, my Lords, it is an execrable heresy.' 'An heresy' quoth John Penry, 'I thank God that ever I know that heresy. It is such an heresy, that I will, by the grace of God, sooner leave my life than I will leave it.' 'What, sir!' quoth the Archbishop. 'I tell thee it is an heresy, and thou shalt recant it as an heresy.' 'Nay,' quoth Penry, 'never so long as I live, God willing' (1).

(1) The examination, here referred to, confirms the last note. For Penry's first appearance before Whitgift was in consequence of the publication of his first book, *The Æquity of an Humble Supplication*. The circumstances are given by Penry himself, in *Th' Appelation*, where he tells us that the *Æquity*, which 'was allowed to be printed by publike authority,' and had been presented to Parliament (before March 23rd 1587), was called in by order of the Archbishop. The wardens of the Stationers' Company, Bishop and Denham, seized Penry himself and 500 copies of his book. And here we may profit by Arber's careful research showing that the wardens' year of office expired July 10th, 1587. See Penry's *Appelation*, pp. 3 ff., which is helpfully quoted and the dates elucidated by Arber in his *Introductory Sketch*, p. 68; Brook's *Lives*, ii. 49; *D. N. B.*, Mr. Sidney Lee's article on 'Penry,' in which there are one or two conjectural dates to be amended. It may be convenient to the reader to quote the texts above referred to. Rom. 10^{14},—'How then shall they call on him in whom they have not believed? and how shall they believe in him whom they have not heard? and how shall they hear without a preacher?' 1 Cor. 1^{21},—'It was God's good pleasure through the foolishness of preaching to save them that believe.' Ephes. 1^{13}, 'In whom ye also, having heard the word of truth . . . . . having believed, ye were sealed with the Holy Spirit of promise.'

Both Whitgift and Cooper energetically repudiate the charge laid against them. The Archbishop says, 'That heathenish vntruth vttered diuers times in this booke that the Archbishoppe should accompt preaching of the word of God to be heresie, and mortally abhorre and persecute it, is rather to bee pitied then answered. If man punish not such sycophants [with the now obsolete sense of 'talebearers'] God will do it, to whose iust iudgement the reuenge of this iniurie is referred. He [the Archbishop] doth bridle factions and vnlearned Preachers, such as the more part of that sect are, who notwithstanding crie out for a learned Ministerie, themselues being vnlearned, and so would be accounted of all men, if it were not *propter studium partium*. . . . The world is full of them that can speak and talke: but they speake the things they know not. . . . Indeede our Church is too full of such talkers, (rather than sober teachers) whome hee professeth himselfe greatly to mislike. Otherwise hee defieth all *Martinistes* in *Englande* and doth appeal vnto the whole State of the learned and obedient Clergie for his innocencie therein.'—Bishop Cooper's *Admonition*, pp. 46, 47. The Bishop of Winchester's own defence is to deny the truth of the charge. That the opinion in question is a heresy 'he never thought, or spake, either then, or at any other time of his life.' But Penry spoke 'so strangely and obscurely . . . as he euidently shewed himselfe to meane, that that effect of

I will leave this story, for shame. I am weary to hear your Grace so absurd.

What say you to this gear, my Masters of the Convocation House? We shall have shortly a good religion in England among the Bishops, if Paul be said of them to write an heresy. I have heard some say that his Grace will speak against his own conscience. It is true. The proof whereof shall be his deal | ing with another Welshman, one Master 31
Evans. An honourable personage, Ambrose Dudley, now Earl of Warwick—and long may he be so, to the glory of God, the good of the Church, and the comfort of all his—in the singular love he bare to the town of Warwick, would have placed Master Evans there. To the end that Master Evans might be received with a favourable subscription, &c., he offered the subscription which the Statute requireth; whereunto men may subscribe with a good conscience. The Earl sent him with his letter to his Gracelessness of Cant., thinking to obtain so small a courtesy at his hands. And I am sure if he be [that] Ambrose Dudley, the noble Earl of Warwick, whose famous exploits both in peace and war this whole land hath cause to remember with thankfulness, that he is able to requite your kindness, Master John Cant. 'O,' said his Grace to Master Evans, 'I know you to be worthy a better place than Warwick is; and I would very gladly gratify my Lord. But surely there is a Lord in heaven, whom I fear; and therefore I cannot admit you without subscription.' Thus the man with his poor patron, the Earl of Warwick, were rejected by your Grace; and the poor Earl to this day, knoweth not how to find favour at your hands, that the man may be placed there. I tell you true John Canterbury, if I were a nobleman, and a Councillor

O, monstrous hypocrite!

saluation could not be wrought by hearing the word of God read, with some other wordes, giuing suspition of worse matter. And then indeede the B[ishop] rose not out of his place, (as these honest men do carpe) nor spake in such cholerike maner, as they pretend: but quietly said, 'My Lord, this is not farre from Heresie. What were the words that *Penry* vsed, and especially moued the B[ishop] to speake, he doth not at this time remember: but sure he is, they were as farre from that, which is laide down in the Libel, as falshood can be from truth.'—*Ibid.* 71 vers., 72.

too, I should be sick of the spleen; nay, I could not bear this at your hands. To be used of a priest thus, contrary to the law of God, and this land! (1).

It is no marvel that his Honour could not obtain this small suit at your graceless hands; for I have heard your own men say that you will not be beholden to never a nobleman in this land; for you were the second person, &c. Nay your own self spake proudly, yea, like a pope, when, as a worthy knight was a suitor unto your Holiness for one of God's dear children—whom you have kept and do keep in prison—for his liberty. You answered him he should lie there still,
32 unless he would put in sureties upon such bonds | as never the like were heard of; and said further that you are the 'Second person in the land,' and never a nobleman or councillor in this land should release him (2). Only her

(1) Ambrose Dudley, Earl or Warwick, brother of Robert, Earl of Leicester, was all that Martin claimed on his behalf. After the suspicion that fell upon him in connection with the affair of Lady Jane Grey had subsided, he rose steadily into favour. He married a daughter of the Earl of Bedford, with the smiles of Elizabeth upon his nuptials. He was a Privy Councillor and a Knight of the Garter, and filled various offices of dignity in the State. Nevertheless he could not appoint Master Evans to the vicarage of Warwick. But he consistently favoured the 'reformers.' It was by his countenance that Cartwright became Master of the Hospital at Warwick. The Archbishop contended that he was 'maliciously reported.' 'He rejected [Evans] for lacke of conformitie to the orders of the Church. If hee haue done him any wrong thereby, the lawe is open, hee might haue had his remedy. That honourable person mentioned by the Libeller, I am sure, accepted of his answer. And I knowe that according to his honourable disposition, hee thinketh himselfe greatly abused by the libeller in this point.' —Bishop Cooper's *Admonition*, pp. 47, 48. The law to which Whitgift invited his victims to have recourse was not so open as he assumes for the sake of his defence. And the question of subscription, as is shown elsewhere, was complicated by a demand that it should include articles framed by Whitgift himself. The civil lawyers were convinced of the gross illegality of his position, contending that the High Commission could only deal with cases where the ecclesiastical laws as constitutionally enacted were alleged to be broken and disregarded. Whitgift hid himself behind the Queen's prerogative. The acts of the 'Commission for Ecclesiastical purposes' as provided by the terms of its appointment were the Queen's acts. So that the invitation to seek a remedy at law was something of a cruel mockery.

(2) Whitgift gives this a plain denial. If any man of his made the alleged statement he was like the 'Libeller,' 'that is, a common lyar.' The charge that he called himself 'the second person in the land' touched a dangerous point. Elizabeth had no 'second persons.' Her father chopped off the head of every one who reached that stage of eminence. And Whitgift had a few years earlier, in defending his policy, stated that he had only done what was 'most requisite for this Church and State, whereof next to

Majesty may release him and that you were sure she would not. Do you think this to be he (I pray you), that was sometime Doctor Perne's boy, and carried his cloakbag after him? (1). Believe me, he hath leaped lustily. And do you not know that after it is full sea [tide] there followeth an ebb? Remember your brother Haman. Do you think there is never a Mordecai to step to our gracious Esther, for preserving the lives of her faithfullest and best subjects, whom you so mortally hate and bitterly persecute? I hope you have not long to reign. Amen.

Is not this ambitious wretch at the highest, think you?

And you, Master Bishop of Worcester, how dealt you with Master Evans in the same case? Do you think that I do not know your knavery? You could by law require no other subscription of Master Evans than he offered; and yet, forsooth, you would not receive it at his hands, unless he would also enter into a bond to observe the Book of Common Prayer in every point. Will law permit you to play the tyrant in this sort, Bishop? I shall see the *premunire* on the bones of you one day, for these pranks (2). And the

her Majesty . . . the chief care is committed unto me.'—Bishop Cooper's *Admonition*, p. 48. Paule's *Whitgift* (Wordsworth's *Eccles. Biog.* vol. IV.), p. 347. HAY ANY WORKE, p. 277.

(1) Whitgift replies, 'He neuer was *D[octor] Perns* boy, nor vnder him at any time, but as Fellow of the House [Peterhouse, Cambs.] where he was Master. Neither did he euer cary his, or any other mans cloake bagge: Although if he had so done, it had been no disgrace to him. Better men's sonnes then the Libeller is, haue caried cloakebags.'—Bishop Cooper's *Admonition*, pp. 48, 49. For Whitgift's relation to Perne see the *Hist. Intro.*, pp. 113, 114, 115 n., 317.

(2) Edmund Freake was one of Bonner's ordinees. But when Elizabeth came he qualified himself to hold a benefice, and indeed to hold a remarkable number of benefices at the same time. He had a stormy experience as Bishop of Norwich. At home 'Mrs. Bushopp' henpecked him scandalously, and in his diocese his Puritan clergy were bold and refractory. Before leaving he signalised his episcopate by burning at the stake a half-witted Deist named John Lewes. He resolved to retire into private life unless he could be transferred from Norwich, and was therefore given the see of Worcester in 1584. But even there troubles followed him from his old bishopric. For his successor Edmund Scambler makes a great complaint against him, in that he had granted all the judicial offices of the see, no doubt for a suitable consideration, to one Withipole. Strype, who gives us these particulars, tells us that Scambler himself is the subject of a similar grave complaint by his successor at Peterborough, who accuses him of having leased out the manors and abbeys of that see.—Annals III. i. 480, 481. For interesting details of Freake's life see F. O. White's *Eliz. Bishops*, 193. White takes his particulars direct from the State Papers.

massmonger, your neighbour the Bishop of Gloucester thinks to go free, because in his sermon at Paul's Cross, preached [in] 1586, in the Parliament time, he affirmed that beef and brewis had made him a Papist. But this will not serve his turn. Would you know what he did? Why, he convented [summoned] an honest draper of Gloucester, one Singleton, and urged him, being a layman, to subscribe unto the Book. The man affirming that no such thing could be required of him by law, denied to subscribe. Upon his denial the Bishop sent him to prison. Is it even so, you old Popish priest? Dare you imprison laymen for not subscribing? It were not good for your corner-cap that her Majesty knew her subjects to be thus dealt with. And if this be ever made known unto her, I hope to see you in for a bird (1).

83 But, Brother Winchester, you of all other men are most wretched; for you openly in the audience of many hundreds, at Sir [St.] Mary Overie's Church, the last Lent, 1587, pronounced that men might find fault, if they were disposed to quarrel, as well with the Scripture as with the Book of Common Prayer. Who could hear this comparison without trembling? (2). But lest you should think that he hath not

Oh, blasphemous wretch!

(1) It is no wonder that John Bullingham, Bishop of Gloucester, is the object of Martin's aversion. Avaricious and inferior men as most of the Elizabethan bishops were, yet one wonders how even in such an age John Bullingham could have become a bishop in a Protestant Church. Parker's judgment of him, and also Aylmer's, leads us to believe that the extraordinary stories told of him by Martin Marprelate were substantially true. The 'massmonger' went into exile during Edward's reign, but returned at the accession of Mary, and was duly furnished with a number of benefices. At the accession of Elizabeth he chose at first to refuse to subscribe and lost them. But in a year or two he thought better of it, and soon managed to recoup himself, chiefly by the gift of lucrative offices by his kinsman Bishop Nicholas Bullingham. In 1581 he became Bishop of Gloucester. He was an ignorant and incapable man. Further references to him will be found in the present Tract, pp. 90 f., 97; HAY ANY WORKE, pp. 217, 230.

(2) The Bishop of Winchester replies, 'At that time, in S. *Mary Oueries* church, in a large discourse, he did answere the obiections that many make at this day, against the Book of Common Prayer, and toward the end vttered these words, *If it could be without blasphemy, they might picke as many and as great quarrels against the holy scriptures themselues. For euen the best writings are subiect to the slanderous malice of wicked men.* This assertion was found fault withall, by a Iesuite or Massing priest at that time in the Marshalsey, and therefore the B[ishop] the next Sunday following, expounded his meaning, and at large shewed, that that might be done, which

as good a gift in speaking against his conscience as my Lord of Cant. is endued with, you are to understand that, both in that sermon of his, and in another which he preached at the Court the same Lent, he protested before God and the congregation where he stood, that there was not in the world at this day, nay there had not been since the Apostles' time, such a flourishing estate of a church as we have now in England. Is it any marvel that we have so many swine, dumb dogs, non-residents, with their journeymen the hedge-priests; so many lewd livers, as thieves, murderers, adulterers, drunkards, cormorants, rascals; so many ignorant and atheistical dolts, so many covetous Popish bishops, in our ministry; and so many and so monstrous corruptions in our Church? And yet [we are] likely to have no redress, seeing our impudent, shameless, and wainscot-faced Bishops, like beasts, contrary to the knowledge of all men, and against their own consciences, dare in the ears of her Majesty affirm all to be well, where there is nothing but sores and blisters; yea, where the grief is even deadly at the heart (1). 'Nay,' A flattering hypocrite.

beforetime was done, by a great number: and that he was not so far beside himself, as to compare the booke of *common prayer* with the holy scriptures in dignitie, trueth, or maiestie: He leaueth such blasphemous dealing to the *Papists*, the *Family of Loue*, and some other *Sectaries*.' [Several instances are then given of early heretics assailing the Scriptures.] 'There was neuer any Heretike, but that to giue countenance to his opinion, he would seem to ground it vpon the Scriptures. And what is that but wickedly to father lies vpon the Scriptures? And for this cause you know, the Papists think it no sure ground to rest upon the scriptures onely, affirming blasphemously, that *the Scriptures are darke, vnperfect, and doubtfull because they may be wrested euery* way, like a nose of waxe, or like a leaden Rule.' The Bishop protests that his words tended 'to a good and godly meaning.'—Bishop Cooper's *Admonition*, p. 70 [printed 71 in error] *vers. et seq.*

(1) The Bishop of Winchester defends himself on this point at considerable length. In the sermons he delivered 'last Lent' he only contended that in the matters ordered in the 'book of seruice'—doctrinal articles, sacramental administration, and worship—'*there was neuer Church vpon the face of the earth, so nigh the sincerities of God's trueth as the Church of England this day.*' He will challenge this with his life, and yet not show himself to be 'ether desperate Dicke, or shamelesse, impudent or wainscot faced Bishop as it pleaseth the Libeller to rayle.' The Papists think their Synagogue blasphemed by his words, but no Reformed Church can take offence. He does not, however, thereby 'excuse the multitude of *Thieues, Drunkards, Murtherers, Adulterers, &c.*, that be in our Church.' He has done more to impugn these vices than the 'whole broode of them that are of the Anabaptisticall Conuenticles, and the residue of these Libellers.'

The Bishop's reference to the expression 'desperate Dicke' is interesting

says my Lord of Winchester, like a monstrous hypocrite—for he is a very dunce, not able to defend an argument, but, till he come to the pinch, he will cog and face it out, for his face is made of seasoned wainscot, and will lie as fast as a dog can trot—'I have said it. I do say it, and I have said it.' And say I, you shall one day answer it, without repentance, for abusing the Church of God and her Majesty in this sort. I would wish you to leave thy villainy and the rest of your devilish practices against God's saints, lest you
84 answer it where your peevish and choleric simpli | city will not excuse you. I am ashamed to think that the Church of

as showing that he had the second Marprelate Tract in his possession when writing his *Admonition*. The words appear in THE EPITOME, p. 150, where they are rightly ascribed to the Bishop of London. They occur in Aylmer's notorious *Harborowe for Faithfull Subiectes*, where he divides the English bishops of Mary's reign into two sorts—one, prudent (like Harpagus, who, having an eye to the future, spared the child of Mandane), not appearing to clamour against the martyrs; the other, 'desperate Dicks' that went forward sparing none. See Sigg. E 2 vers. E 3 (which Martin notes as pp. 28, 29).

For the faith of the English Church Cooper can refer with pride to Dean Nowell's *Catechism*, also to Bishop Jewel's *Apology*, with Peter Martyr's *Epistle* prefixed, where he also speaks 'for many other learned men in the Church of Tygure [Zurich], and other places.' Bishop Jewel in his *Apology* condemns the corruptions of Rome, or such as have been brought in by heretics ancient and modern. Cooper also shows that the English Confession is based upon an interpretation of Scripture which has the witness and consent of 'all the learned antiquity . . . for certaine hundred years.' Thus the Councils noted support the 'foure principal Articles' concerning (1) 'the *person of Christ in his Godhead and manhood*;' (2) 'the grace and benefite of Christ, the beginning whereof riseth from the eternal *loue* of God toward vs, and from the free *election* to redemption' through 'the dispensation of Christ once offered vpon the crosse, by effectual calling wrought by the holy ghost in preaching of the gospell, by our justification, sanctification and the gift of perseverence and continuance in the faith, thereby in the end to obtain resurrection and eternall life'; (3) 'the true Catholique Church (a matter of great importance euen at this day)'; (4) 'the Sacrament of the Lordes Supper.' Cooper contends that in these articles, chosen as chief examples, the Church's Confession had 'the testimonie and consent of the Primitiue Church and the ancient learned Fathers. From which *Consent* they should not depart, either in doctrine or other matter of weight, vnlesse it so fal out in them, that we be forced thereto, either by the plaine wordes of the Scriptures, or by euident and necessary conclusions following upon the same, or the Analogie of our faith.'—Bishop Cooper's *Admonition*, 64—68 [printed 69 in error].

The latter part of this note is given at this length that the evangelical character of the Elizabethan Church as defined by its Confession may be seen. And the above is an authoritative statement made by representative men. It is out of these materials, and the like, that the modern Anglican has to construct the continuity of his Catholic Church.

England should have these wretches for the eyes thereof, that would have the people content themselves with bare reading only, and hold that they may be saved thereby ordinarily. But this is true of our Bishops; and they are afraid that anything should be published abroad, whereby the common people should learn that the only way to salvation is by the word preached.

There was the last summer, a little *Catechism* made by Master Davison (1) and printed by Waldegrave. But before he could print it, it must be authorised by the Bishops, either Canterbury or London. He went to Canterbury to have it licensed. His Grace committed it to Doctor Neverbegood (Wood) (2); he read it over in half a year. The book is a great one of two sheets of paper. In one place of the book the means of salvation was attributed to the Word preached; and what did he, think you? He blotted out the word 'preached' and would not have that word printed, so ascribing the way to work men's salvation to the Word read. Thus they do to suppress the truth and to keep men in ignorance. John Cant. was the first father of this horrible error in our Church; for he hath defended it in print, and now, as you have heard, accounteth the contrary to be heresy. And Popish Goodman, Abbot of Westminster (3), preaching upon Rom. 12[1], said that so

(1) Strype calls him 'an obscure person,' and gives the date as 1587.—*Whitgift*, i. 587, 588. In reply to the accusation Whitgift writes, 'How *Dauisons* Catechisme was allowed, or how long in perusing, I know not: some paultrie pamphlet belike it is, like to that busie an vnlearned *Scot*, now termed to be the author thereof. *D. Wood* is better able to judge of such matters, then either *Dauison*, or any Martinist that dare be knowen.'—Bishop Cooper's *Admonition*, 49.

(2) This Doctor Wood is no doubt the same person as the Doctor Wood of All Souls' referred to in THE PROTESTATYON, p. 412, *note* (4).

(3) Gabriel Goodman, a native of Ruthin, N. Wales. He graduated at St. John's, Cambridge, received in 1560 a prebend at Westminster, and the following year, Sept. 23rd, was elected Dean. He was sometime chaplain to Sir William Cecil; he was also the translator of 1*st Corinthians* in the Bishops' Bible. He served on the High Commission. Persistent but vain efforts were made to get him elected to the episcopate. Archbishop Parker thought him too severe for the see of London, but afterwards recommended him for the vacancy at Norwich. Later Aylmer recommended him to the see of Rochester, and another effort was subsequently made by Whitgift to get him appointed to that dignity. Ob. 1601, aet. 73. See THE MINERALLS, § 14, p. 189, *note* (2).

much preaching as in some places we have is an unreasonable service of God. Scribes, Pharisees, and hypocrites! that will neither enter in [y]ourselves, nor suffer those that will enter into heaven.

May it please your Priestdoms to understand that Doctor Cottington, Archdeacon of Surrey, being belike bankrupt(1) in his own country, cometh to Kingston upon Thames, of mere good will that he beareth to the town—I should say to usurer Harvey's good cheer and money bags, being out at the heels with all other usurers; and knowing him to be a professed adversary to Master Udall (a notable preacher of the
35 Gospel and vehement repro | ver of sin) taketh the advantage of their controversy, and hoping to borrow some of the usurer's money, setteth himself most vehemently against Master Udall, to do whatsoever Harvey the usurer will have him; and taketh the help of his journeyman, Doctor Hone, the veriest coxcombe that ever wore velvet cap, (and an ancient foe to Master Udall), because, indeed he is [a] Popish dolt(2). And, to make up a mess, Stephen

(1) M. has the old form 'bankerout,' which follows the Italian *banco rotto*. Our modern form goes back to the Latin *ruptus*.

(2) Reference has already been made to John Udall as the author of the dialogue popularly known as *Diotrephes*. See above, p. 27, where the actual title is given in a note. For references to Udall's career, see *Hist. Intro.*, in the index. He was a 'preacher' at Kingston-on-Thames. The vicar of the town parish was Stephen Chatfield, who held the living from 1574 to 1598. We assume from the above statement that he was a non-resident and that Udall was his substitute. He 'must come and be resident there, that Master Udall may have his mouth stopped.' Dr. John Cottington, of Trinity College, Oxford, was chancellor of Wells Cathedral and archdeacon of Surrey, and in his latter capacity sent through W. Hone his 'official,' a letter, dated Sept. 11th, 1586, addressed to 'the parson or curate of Kingston, and to the churchwarden and sidesmen of the same parish,' directing their attention to certain 'contemptuous disorders in church matters'; among them are noted 'new ceremonies, new forms of prayer, new feastings and fasting days, private meetings, singing of psalms and lectures, reading and interpreting of Scriptures in private houses.' They are especially required to prevent 'the fast pretended to be had and made among certain of your town, as upon this next Wednesday.' The letter is given in Waddington's *Surrey Congregational Hist.*, pp. 6, 7, where, however, by the form in which the close of the letter is printed, the reader would suppose that W. Hone and not 'Mr. D[octor] Cottington' is 'your archdeacon and friend.' The information contained in the above section seems to have been derived from notes written by Udall. Asked (Jan. 13th, 1588—9) if 'certen thinges conteyned in the first Martin' did not proceed from his 'owne collection and Reporte, namelie, touching Doctor Hone, Doctor Cottington and Master

Chatfield, the vicar of Kingston, as very a bankrupt and dunce as Doctor Cottington, although he have consumed all the money he gathered to build a college at Kingston, must come and be resident there, that Master Udall may have his mouth stopped. Any why? Forsooth, because your friend Harvey would have it so; for, saith Harvey, he raileth in his sermons. Is that true? Doth he rail when he reproveth thee, and such notorious varlets as thou art, for thy usury, for thy oppressing of the poor, for buying the houses over their heads that love the Gospel, and the Lord's faithful minister, Master Udall? And art thou not a monstrous (1) atheist, a belly god, a carnal wicked wretch, and what not? Master Chatfield, you think I see not your knavery. 'Iss us do! (2) Aye, you cannot dance so cunningly in a net, but I can spy you out (3). Shall I tell you why you sew pillows under Harvey's elbows? (4) Why man, is it because you would borrow a hundred pounds from him. Go to, you ass, and take in Master Udall

Harvey,' he answers that 'he thincketh the matter did proceede from his Report of some thinges conteyned in Martin Marprelate, but knoweth not howe it came in writinge.' Later (July 13th) he adds that 'he had ye same in his studie, in wryting; but how it came forthe to ye printing he cannot tell.'—*Harl. MSS.* 6849. 164. According to another report of the same examination Udall says, 'that the generall historie of the thinges conteyned in the booke he thinketh to haue proceeded from his owne reportes, touching Master Hone, Master Cottington, and Master Haruey; but the particularities of them hee hath not vttered, as the revylinge of them, &c.' *Harl. MSS.* 6849. 154.

(1) *ffl.* 'mostrous.'

(2) The West of England dialect used conventionally here, and frequently throughout the Tracts. See HAY ANY WORKE, p. 257, *note* (4).

(3) To 'dance in a net' appears to have been a familiar figure to express acting under a disguise. Bridges in his *Defence* employs it occasionally. 'Martin all this while thinkes himself in league with obscuritie, whiles Phebus . . . hath streamed his bright day light into the net where he daunceth.'—*An Almond for a Parrat*, 39 (Petheram's ed.).

(4) Martin's use of the simile taken from *Ezekiel*, 13[18], though not critically acceptable to-day, is obvious. He is accusing Chatfield of currying favour by flattering arts. John Field, taxed by Pearson, chaplain to Archbishop Parker, with the severity of the language used in the *Admonition to Parliament*, replied, 'This concerns me; the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments use such vehemency, . . . it is no time to blanch or sew pillows [pillars, in the 1822 ed. of Neal's *Hist.* is a misprint] under men's elbows.' The use of the phrase by Field is to be considered in connection with the share attributed to him in the authorship of the Tracts.—Neal, *Hist. of the Pur.*, I. 231.

again; for Harvey, I can tell, is as crafty a knave as you. He will not lend his money to such bankrupts, as Dunce Cottington and you are. And you do not restore Master Udall again to preach, I will so lay open your vileness, that I shall make the very stones in Kingston streets shall smell of your knaveries.

Now, if a man ask Master Cottington why Master Udall is put to silence, forsooth, saith he, 'for not favouring the Church government present.' Doctor Hone, Cottington's journeyman, a Popish doctor of the bawdy court, saith, by his troth, 'for making such variance in the town.' Master Chatfield seemeth to sorry (1) for it, &c. But what cause
36 was alleged why Master Udall must preach no longer? Surely this only—that he had not my Lord of Winchester's licence under seal to show. And because this [indictment] was thought not to be sufficient to satisfy the people, Hone, the bawdy doctor, charged him to be a sectary, a schismatic, yea, he affirmed plainly that the Gospel out of his mouth was blasphemy. Popish Hone, do you say so?—do ye? You are a knave, I tell you. By the same token, your friend Chatfield spent thirteen score pounds in distributing briefs, for a gathering towards the erecting of a college at Kingston upon Thames.

Wo-ho-ho! (2) Brother London, do you remember Thomas Allen and Richard Alworth, merchants of London, being executors to George Allen, sometime (3) your grocer, but now deceased; who came to you on Easter Wednesday last, being at your Masterdom's Palace in London, having been often to speak with you before, and could not, yet now they met with you; who told you they were 'Executors unto one George Allen, sometime (3) your grocer' and [said they] 'among other his debts we find you indebted unto him in the sum of nineteen pounds and upward,'

(1) That is, to be sorry. Formerly 'to sorry' was an intransitive verb.
(2) This is in imitation of Dean Bridges.—*Defence*, 76. See HAY ANY WORKE, p. 257, *note* (1).
(3) *M.* 'sometimes.'

desiring you to let them have the money, for that they were to dispose of it according to that trust he [Allen] reposed in them? You answered them sweetly, after you had paused awhile, in this manner. 'You are rascals; you are villains; you are arrant knaves! I owe you nought. I have a general quittance to show.' 'Sir,' said they, 'show us your discharge, and we are satisfied.' 'No,' quoth he, 'I will show you none. Go, sue me! Go, sue me!' Then, said one of the merchants, 'Do you thus use us for asking our due? We would you should know we are no such vile persons.' Don John of London, hearing their answer, cried out saying, 'Hence, away! Citizens?—nay, you are rascals; you are worse than wicked Mammon.' So, lifting up both his hands and flinging them down again [he] said 'You are thieves, you are coseners; take that for a bishop's blessing, and so get you hence!' But when they would have answered, his men | thrust them out of the 37 doors. But shortly after, he perceived that they went about to bring the matter to further trial; [so] he sent a messenger unto them, confessing the debt; but they cannot get their money to this day. What reason is it they should have their money? Hath he not bestowed his liberality already upon them? Can they not be satisfied with the blessing of this brave, bouncing, priest? But Brethren Bishops, I pray you tell me, hath not your Brother London a notable brazen face to use these men so, for their own. I told you Martin will be proved no liar, in that he saith that bishops are cogging and cosening knaves (1). This priest

Can Bishops face, cog, lie, and cosen or no, think you?

Dumb John of London's blessing.

(1) It would seem by the following defence offered by Aylmer, that there was still ten pounds actually owing to Allen's executors. 'Martin with his bitter stile of malicious *Momus* dipt in the gall of vngodlinesse, proceedeth in a shamelesse vntrueth touching the Bishops answere to the executors of *Allein* the Grocer, as though he should flatly denie the payment of a certaine debt, due to the sayde *Allein:* which is as true as all the rest of *Martins* writings is honest and sober. For bee it that at the firste demaunde, the Bishoppe was somewhat mooued to heare his name to be in the Merchants bookes, which hee euer so precisely auoyded, that commonly he sendeth to them whom he hath to do with, warning them to deliuer nothing in his name, without his owne hand or ready money, vsed peradventure some sharpe wordes in a matter that was so suddaine and so strange to him: Yet most certaine it is, that though not at that time, yet very shortly after, the debt was discharged,

went to buffets with his son-in-law, for a bloody nose Well fare, all good tokens (1).

The last Lent there came a commandment from his Grace into Paul's Churchyard, that no Bible should be found without the Apocrypha. Monstrous and ungodly wretches, that to maintain their own outrageous proceedings thus mingle heaven and earth together, and would make the Spirit of God to be the Author of profane books. I am hardly [*i.e.* with difficulty] drawn to a merry vein from such weighty matters (2).

as shall be prooued, long before *Martins* railing booke was heard of or seene: ten pound excepted, which the sayde executors for a time respited. But this will trauaile farre before he will lacke matter to furnish a lye.'—Bishop Cooper's *Admonition*, p. 59. Aylmer's defence is a deadlier indictment than the accusation of Martin. Knowing his railing tongue, the admission that 'peradventure' he used some sharp words is amusing. The extraordinary fact is that he admitted his indebtedness. That this wealthy and avaricious bishop should have pleaded for time in which to pay the last ten pounds gives the completing touch to his mean and miserly picture. See HAY ANY WORKE, p. 279.

(1) This son-in-law was Dr. Adam Squire, of whom Strype gives a very bad account as a spendthrift and of loose habits, asserting that it was to cover his own infidelity that he vamped up a discreditable story about his wife and a certain Knight. Aylmer saw the Knight, and on hearing his protestation of innocence, had the interview with Squire which led to fisticuffs and a bloody nose. Strype rather admires the doughty character of the Bishop, who, notwithstanding his small stature and his advanced years, was not afraid to come to blows with a younger man. It is fair to add that Squire protested that he was wrongly accused by his father-in-law. But we may agree with Strype that he was 'somewhat fantastical,' seeing that he insisted upon preaching his own wedding sermon. His name being Adam, he took for his text the words '*It is not good for Adam to be alone.*' See Strype's *Life of Aylmer*, pp. 122—126, 192.

(2) Concerning the complaint that the Apocrypha was ordered to be bound up with the Bible, which gave so much offence to the 'Seekers after Reformation' for so many generations, Whitgift admits that, 'He gaue commandement in deede, and meaneth to see it obserued.' His action he defends by alleging that no church from the beginning of Christianity down to the Reformed Churches of that time had ever done otherwise. He says—falling unconsciously into writing in the first person—'I knowe there is great difference betweene the one and the other: yet all learned men haue from the beginning, giuen to the *Apocrypha* authoritie, next to the Canonicall Scriptures. . . . A foule shame it is, and not to be suffered that such speeches should be vttered against these bookes, as by some hath bene: enough to cause ignorant people to discredite the whole Bible.'—Bishop Cooper's *Admonition*, p. 49. There is a passing reference to the subject in HAY ANY WORKE, p. 277. It is also the theme of the 34th point in THE MINERALLS.

Cartwright in his controversy with Whitgift maintains the Puritan contention. To him Whitgift replies that the Apocryphal books 'may as well be read in the Church as counted portions of the Old and New Testament: and, forasmuch as there is nothing in them contrary to the rest of the Scripture.'—

But you see, my worshipful Priests of this crew, to whom I write, what a perilous fellow Master Marprelate is. He understands all your knavery, and, it may be, keeps a register of them. Unless you amend they shall all come into the light one day. And you, Brethren Bishops, take this warning from me. If you do not leave your persecuting of godly Christians and good subjects, that seek to live uprightly in the fear of God and the obedience of her Majesty, all your dealing shall be made known unto the world. And I shall (1) be sure to make you an example to all posterity (2). You see I have taken some pains with you already; and I will owe you a better turn and pay it you with advantage, at least thirteen to the dozen, unless you observe these conditions of peace which I draw between me and you. For I assure you, I make not your doings known for any malice that I bear un | to you, but [for] the hurt 33
that you do unto God's church. Leave you your wickedness, and I'll leave the revealing of your knaveries.

Conditions of Peace to be inviolably kept for ever between the reverend and worthy Master Martin Marprelate, Gentleman, on the one party, and the reverend fathers, his brethren, the Lord Bishops of this land.

1. *In primis*, the said Lord Bishops must promise and observe, without fraud or collusion, and that as much as in

Whitgift's *Defense of the answere*, p. 721. T. C. easily replies that a book answering to this qualification could be compiled after the manner of gathering elegant and moral extracts from classical authors, from the writings of Cato, Theognes, and Cebes. And adds further that in the Apocrypha 'there be many places partly, plainly contrary to the Holy Scripture; partly, frivolous, and vnworthy to be read.'—*The Second replie of T. C.*, lib. ii. p. 400. In the celebrated Conference held at Lambeth on Dec. 10th, 1584, and the day following, at which Martin insists that Dr. Sparke gave the Archbishop the *non-plus*, the question of the Apocrypha was discussed. Whitgift then asserted that 'the books called the Apocrypha are indeed parts of the holy scripture.' 'You cannot,' said he to Travers, 'shew that there is any error in the apocrypha.'—Brook's *Lives*, II. 317. For his argument with Underdown at a celebrated Conference held at Lambeth Dec. 5th, 1583, see *Hist. Intro.* 72, *note*.

(1) M. 'ise.'

(2) M. 'posterities.'

them lieth, they labour to promote the preaching of the Word in every part of this land.

2. That hereafter they admit none unto the ministry but such as shall be known both for their godliness and learning, to be fit for the Ministry; and not these neither without cure [a pastoral sphere], unless they be college ministers of either of the Universities; and in no case they suffer any to be non-residents. And that they suffer Master Cartwright's answer to the Rhemish Testament to be published.

3. That neither they nor their servants, viz. their archdeacons, chancellors, nor any other of the High Commission, which serve their vile affections, urge any to subscribe contrary to the statute 13 Eliz., and that they suspend or silence none, but such as either for their false doctrine or evil life, shall show themselves to be unworthy the places of ministers; so that none be suspended or silenced either for speaking, when their text giveth them occasion, against the corruptions of the Church; for refusing to wear the surplice, cap, tippet, &c.; or, omitting the corruptions of the Book of Common Prayers, as churching of women, the cross in baptism, the ring in marriage, &c.

4. That none be molested by them or any their aforesaid servants, for this my Book; for not kneeling at the communion; or, for resorting on the Sabbath, if they have not preachers of their own, [to other churches] to hear the
39 Word preached, and | to receive the sacraments.

5. Lastly, that never hereafter they profane excommunication as they have done, by excommunicating alone, in their chambers, and that for trifles; yea, before men's causes be heard. That they never forbid public fasts; molest either preacher or hearer, for being present at such assemblies. Briefly, that they never slander the cause of Reformation, or the furtherers thereof, in terming the cause by the name of Anabaptistery, schism, &c., and the men Puritans, and enemies of the State.

These be the conditions which you, Brethren Bishops,

shall be bound to keep inviolably on your behalf. And I, your brother Martin, on the other side, do faithfully promise upon the performance of the premisses by you, never to make any more of your knavery known unto the world. And, howbeit, that I have before threatened my brother Bridges in the cause of his superior priest, and your antichristian callings, notwithstanding, I will write no more of your dealings, unless you violate the former conditions.

The conditions, you see, are so reasonable [that] I might bind you to give over your places, which are antichristian. But I do not, lest men should think me to quarrel, and seek occasions for the nonce to fall out with my Brethren. Therefore, I require no more but such things as all the world will think you unworthy to live, if you grant them not. And this I do the rather, because you should not, according to your old fashion, say that my Worship doth for malice lay open your infirmities; nay, I have published not one of your secret faults. What you have not blushed to commit in the face of the sun, and in the justifying whereof you yet stand, these things only have I published. The best servants of God, I know, have their infirmities. But none of them will stand in the maintenance of their corruptions, as you do; and that to the dishonour of God, and the ruin of His Church. You must either amend, or, shortly, you will bring our Church to ruin. There|fore, it is time that 40
your dealings were better looked unto.

You will go about, I know, to prove my Book to be a libel; but I have prevented you of that advantage in law; both by bringing in nothing but matters of fact; which may easily be proved, if you dare deny them; and also, in setting my name to my Book.

Well, I offer you peace upon the former conditions, if you will keep them; but if you violate them, either in whole or in part—for why should you break any one of them?—then your learned brother Martin doth proclaim open war against you, and intendeth to work your woe two manner of ways, as followeth. First, I will watch you at every half turn;

and whatsoever you do amiss, I will presently publish it. You shall not call one honest man before you, but I will get his examination (and you think I shall know nothing of the oppression of your tenants by your bribery, &c.) and publish it, if you deal not according to the former conditions.

To this purpose I will place a young Martin in every diocese, which may take notice of your practices. Do you think that you shall be suffered any longer to break the law of God, and to tyrannize over His people, her Majesty's subjects, and no man tell you of it? No, I warrant you! And rather than I will be disappointed of my purpose, I will place a Martin in every parish. In part of Suffolk and Essex I think I were best to have two in a parish. I hope, in time, they shall be as worthy Martins as their Father is, every one of them able to mar a prelate. Mark, what will be the issue of these things, if you still keep your old bias. I know you would not have your dealings so known unto the world as I and my sons will blaze them.

Secondly, all the books that I have in store already of your doings shall be published upon the breach of the former covenants, or any of them. Here, I know, some will demand what these books are: 'because,' saith one, 'I warrant you there will be old sport. I hope old Father Palinode, Doctor
41 Perne, shall be there by the weeks.' Why, my ¦ Masters of the Clergy, did you never hear of my books, indeed? (1) Foh! then you never heard of good sport in your life. The catalogue of their names, and the arguments of some, are as
Mine *Epitome* is ready. followeth. As for my booke named *Epistomastix*, I make no mention thereof at this time. First, my *Paradoxes*, 2. my *Dialogues*, 3. my *Miscellanea*, 4. my *Variæ leiciones* [? *lectiones*], 5. *Martin's Dream*, 6. *Of the lives and doings of English Popes*, 7. my *Itinerarium*, or *Visitations*, 8. my *Lambethisms*. In my *Paradoxes* shall be handled some points which the common sort have not greatly considered

(1) In addition to the list of alleged writings by Marprelate here given, Martin Senior adds the titles of two others 'not yet printed.' See JUST CENSURE AND REPROOFE *infra*, p. 374.

of. As, 1. That our prelates, if they professed Popery, could not do so much hurt unto God's Church, as now they do. 2. That the devil is not better practised in bowling and swearing than John of London is; with like other points. What shall be handled in my 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th and 6th books, you shall know when you read them.

Mine *Itinerarium* shall be a book of no great profit, either to the Church or Commonwealth; and yet had need to be in folio, or else judge you by this that followeth. I mean to make a survey into all the diocese[s] in this land, that I may keep a visitation among my clergymen. I would wish them to keep good rule, and to amend their manners against I come. For I shall paint them in their colours, if I find anything amiss.

In this book I will note all their memorable pranks. As for example, if I find any priest to have done, as Sir Geoffrey Jones (1) of Warwickshire did, that must be set down in my *Visitations*; and I think I had need to have many scribes, and many reams of paper for this purpose. The said Sir Geoffrey Jones committed a part very well beseeming his priesthood; which was after this manner. Sir Geoffrey once in an alehouse (I do desire the reader to bear with me, though, according to Master Bridges's fashion I write false English in this sentence), whereunto he resorted for his morning draught, either because his hostess would have him pay the old score before he should run any fur|ther, 42
or the new; or else because the gamesters, his companions, won all his money at tray trip; took such unkindness at the alehouse, that he sware that he would never go again into it. Although this rash vow of the good priest was made to the great loss of the alewife, who by means of Sir Geoffrey was wont to have good utterance (2) for her ale; yet I think the tap had great quietness and ease thereby, which could not be quiet so much as an hour in the day, as

(1) See HAY ANY WORKE, p. 259.
(2) The old meaning of the verb *to utter*=to vend or sell, is retained in a modified form in the legal expression 'to utter counterfeit coin.'

long as Sir Geoffrey resorted unto the house. How[ever] sweet it was, poor Sir Jones felt the discommodity of his rash vow. Then, alas, he was in a woe case, as you know. For his stomach could not be at all strengthened with the drink he got abroad. But better were a man not to feel his discommodity, than not to be able to redress the same. Therefore, at length, Sir Geoffrey bethought him of a feat whereby he might both visit the alestond (1), and also keep his oath. And so he hired a man to carry him upon his back to the alehouse. By this means he did not go, but was carried thither, whereunto he made a vow never to go.

I doubt not, in my visitation, but to get a hundred of these stratagems; especially if I travel near where any of the vicars of hell are; as in Surrey, Northampton, and Oxford shires. And I would wish the pursuivants, and the Stationers, with the Wolf, their beadle, not to be so ready to molest honest men. And, Stationers, I would wish you not to be so frank [free] with your bribes, as you were to Thomas Draper. I can tell you his Grace had need to provide a bag full of 'Items' for you, if you be so liberal. Were you so foolish, or so malicious against Waldegrave, to give that knave Draper five pounds to betray him into your wretched hands? He brought you to Kingston upon Thames, with pursuivants, to take him [Waldegrave] where he should be a-printing books in a tinker's house—yourselves being disguised so that Waldegrave might not know you; for of citizens you were become ruffians. There you were to seek that [which] could not be found. And many
43 such journeys may you make. But when you came to | London you laid Thomas Draper in the Counter for cosenage (2).

(1) Alehouse.—Halliwell, who refers to this place.

(2) Arber, in his Transcripts of the *Stationers' Registers* (I. 528, Ed. 1875)—see also his Introduction to the reprint of John Udall's *Demonstration of Discipline* (p. ix.)—gives us the very items of the cost of this journey; a useless quest, except that it afforded a pleasant outing to a number of men at the expense of the Company. The details are

Oh, well bowled! When John of London throws his bowls he will run after it and cry, 'Rub, Rub, Rub,' (1) and say, 'The devil go with thee.'

But what think you shall be handled in my *Lambethisms*? Truly this: I will there make a comparison of John Whitgift's Canterburiness with John Bridges's Lambethisms. To speak in plain English, I will there set down the flowers of errors, Popish and others, wherewith those two worthy men have stuffed the books which they have written against the cause of Reformation, in the defence of the government of Bishops. I have in this book as you shall see, gathered

decidedly interesting, and are here quoted with Arber's few elucidations:—

Item, paid the xth of June [1588] for a Dynner when bothe the wardens [F. Coldeck and H. Conneway], master Watkyns, and master Denham, and the Pursuyvant, with John Wolf, Thomas Strange, and Thomas Draper wente to Kingston. iiijs ijd/
Item the same mens supper at Kingston xs vjd/
Item to the poore woman whose house was serched at Kingston ijs/
Item the boatehire to and from Kingston xiiijs/
Item for twooe lynckes the same tyme viijd/
Item for a warrant for Penrye and Northe goinge and comminge by water [i.e., *to Lambeth Palace*] to get yt signed iijs viijd/
Item paid to Watson the Pursuyvant the same tyme for goinge to Kingston xs

With this happy extract before us we see vividly the whole expedition. The pleasant river journey up to Kingston; the trouble with the housewife whose house they uselessly ransacked, and who had to be solaced with a couple of shillings; the dinner before the search, and the more substantial supper after; then the late journey home with the links to light their way. Martin adds the completing touch of comedy—'knave Draper' cast into limbo for being the occasion of spending so much money on a false scent. After such a foolish jollification some one had to suffer to save the face of the Company.

John Wolf, or Woolfe, the Beadle of the Stationers' Company, mentioned above, is described by Strype as a 'noted London printer,' who, this same year, 1588, printed an official account of the Armada, translated from the Spanish. Later on he printed Bancroft's *Dangerous Positions* (1593). See above, p. 53, *note* (1), for some references to Wolf's career.

(1) A *rub* is an obstacle in the track of the bowl, or an inequality in the ground, either impeding the progress of the bowl, or giving a bias to its direction. Thus in *Richard II.*, iii. 4. 3, we read:

'1 *Lady*. Madam, we'll play at bowls.
'*Queen*. 'Twill make me think the world is full of rubs,
And that my fortune runs against the bias.'

Aylmer having given too much speed to his bowl, cries after it, 'rub, rub, rub'; but when it rolled heedlessly on beyond the 'jack' the profane little bishop could only cry, 'The devil go with thee.'

some flowers out of John of London's book; but my *Lambethisms* shall be done otherwise, I trow.

And now if it please you of the Convocation-house to hear of any of the former books (1), then break the league which I offer to make with you; but if you would have my friendship as I seeke yours, then let me see that you persecute no more; and especially, that you trouble none for this book of mine. For this must be an especial article of our agreement, as you know. And Dean John, for your part, you must play the fool no more in the pulpit.

We will end this matter with a pretty story of a certain mischance that befel a bishop's corner cap; as followeth. Old Doctor Turner—I mean not Doctor Perne, the 'Old Turner'—had a dog full of good qualities. Doctor Turner, having invited a Bishop to his table, in dinner-while, called his dog, and told him that the Bishop did sweat. (You must think he laboured hard over his trencher.) The dog flies at the Bishop and took off his corner-cap—he thought belike it had been a cheesecake—and so away goes the dog with it to his master. Truly, my masters of the Clergy, I would never wear corner-cap again, seeing dogs run away with them. And here endeth the story.

May it please you that are of this House, to tell me the cause, when you have leisure, why so many opinions
44 and | errors are risen in our Church, concerning the ministry and the joining with preaching and unpreaching ministers? To tell you my opinion in your ear, I think it to be want of preaching; and I think your Worships to have been the cause of all the stir. Some Puritans hold readers for no ministers; some hold you our worthy Bishops for little better than fair parchment readers; and say that you have no learning. Now, whether readers be ministers or no, and whether our Bishops be learned or no, I would wish you, Brethren Bishops, and you Brethren Puritans, to make no great controversy; but rather labour

(1) That is the list just given of books, purported to be written or in preparation, but not yet printed and published, by Martin.

that all evil ministers may be turned out of the Church. And so, I hope there should be a speedy end of all those questions between you. For then, I doubt not, that 'lord bishops,' whereat the Puritans so repine, should be in a fair reckoning within short space; even next to the door, save the dog. And I see that you, Bishops, are well towards this promotion already. And truly, though the Puritans should never so much as repine at the matter, yet, I tell you true, I am glad you are so esteemed among men. And for mine own part, I think my Masters, that many of you, our Lord Bishops and clergymen, are men very notorious for their learning and preaching.

And hereof, under *Benedicite* between you and me (the Puritans may stand aside now) I will bring you some instances. First, his Grace and my Lord of Winchester have been very notable clerks ever since Master Doctor Sparke set them at a *non plus*, some of their Honours being present, in the Conference between him and Master Travers on the Puritans' side, and the two Archbishops and the Bishop of Winchester on the other side. Doctor Spark's argument was drawn from the corruption of the translation of the 28th verse of the 105th Psalm in the Book of Common Prayer, and the contrariety of the translations allowed by the Bishops themselves. For in the Book of Common Prayer you shall read thus, 'And they were not obedient unto his word'; which | is a plain corruption of the text. 45
In other privileged English translations it is, 'And they were not disobedient unto his word'; which is according to the verity of the original (1).

(1) For the Conference see Neal's *History of the Puritans*, I. 343 ff., and more fully in Brook's *Lives*, II. pp. 316—324. Whitgift, in answer to Martin's allegation, says: 'Their Honors that were then present, can and will, I am sure, answere for the bishops to this vntrueth. They made report to divers in publike place, and some to the highest [i.e. the Queen] of that Conference, after an other sort, and to another end, then the Libeller doth. That seely *Obiection* God knoweth, was soon answered in few words, viz. That the translation read in our Churches vvas in that point according to the *Septuagint*, and correspondent to the Analogie of faith. For if the word be vnderstood of the Israelites, then is it true to say, that *they were not obedient to his commandement:*

By the way, ere I go any further, I would know with what conscience either my Brother Cant. or any else of our Bishops can urge men to allow such palpable corruptions by subscribing unto things mere [simply] contrary to the Word? Here also I would show, by the way, and I would have all my sons to note, that their uncle Canterbury's drift, in urging subscription is not the unity of the Church, as he would pretend, but the maintenance of his own pride and corruption, which would soon come to the ground, if the Word had free passage. And therefore he proveth the same, by stopping the mouths of the sincere preachers thereof.

For, if the unity of the Church had been his end, why hath not he amended this fault in all the books that have been printed since that time; which now is not so little as three years; in which time many thousand of Books of Common Prayer have been printed. If he had other business in hand than the amending of the Book of Common Prayer, why had he not, nay, why doth he not, leave urging of subscription until that be amended? Can he and his hirelings have time to imprison and deprive men, because they will not sin by approving lies upon the Holy Ghost—which things they cannot nor could not choose but commit,

but if of the signs and wonders, that *Moses* and *Aaron* did before *Pharao*, or of *Moses* and *Aaron* themselues, then is it on the other side true, that *they were obedient to his commandement*. This might have satisfied any learned and peaceable Diuine, and pacified their immoderate contention against the booke of common praier. This was then, and is now, the answer to that frivolous obiection, and this is the *Nonplus* that the Libeller vaunteth of. More modestie might have become *D[octor] Sparke*, and the reporter, euen *conscientia suæ imbecillitatis*, in that conference.'—Bishop Cooper's *Admonition*, p. 50. This quotation is chiefly interesting as an illustration of Whitgift's rule never to admit himself to be in error. Rather than do that he delivers himself of this piece of sophistication. The text followed by the Book of Common Prayer is no doubt corrupt. The correct text was followed in the translations of the Scriptures allowed to be read. Avoiding altogether the points raised by Dr. Sparke, and now by Martin, he suggests that both readings, though contradictory, are correct. At the Conference he suggested, while acknowledging his ignorance of Hebrew, that there might be an ambiguity in the original. He was however assured by Travers and Sparke that no such ambiguity could be alleged. (*Vide* Brook as above.) Yet all holders of benefices were compelled to subscribe to Whitgift's Articles and to declare that the *Book of Common Prayer* contained nothing contrary to the Scriptures.

whosoever will [subscribe] or have subscribed unto the Book and Articles—and can he have no time in three or four years to correct most gross and ungodly faults in the print, whereof the putting out of one syllable, even three letters, *dis*, would have amended this place? But it lieth not in his Grace to amend the corruptions of the Book. Belike it lieth in him to do nothing but sin, and to compel men against their consciences to sin, or else to bring extreme misery upon them. If it lay not in him, yet he might have acquainted Parliament—for there was a Parliament since the time he knew this fault—with the | corruptions of the 46
Book.

And I will come nearer home to him than so, in the Article concerning the Government, whereunto men are urged to subscribe. You must, say the Articles, protest that there is nothing in the ministry of the Church of England, that is not according to the Word; or, to such like effect they speak. I say that I cannot subscribe unto this Article; because, contrary to the express commandment of our Saviour Christ, and the examples of His Apostles, there be 'Lords' in the ministry. Or, such as would be accounted ministers, will also be called and accounted 'Lords,' and bear civil offices. The words of Christ are those: 'The kings of the Gentiles reign over them, and they that bear rule over them are called gracious lords; but you shall not be so' (1) (Luke $22^{25, 26}$). I say that out of this place it is manifest that it is utterly unlawful for a minister to be a 'Lord'; that is for any 'Lord Bishop' to be in the ministry. And therefore I cannot subscribe unto that Article which would have me justify this to be lawful.

Now I will cease this point, because I doubt not but the Articles of Subscription will be shortly so made out of fashion, that the Bishops will be ashamed of them, themselves; and if no other will take them in hand, I'll turn one of mine own breed unto them, either Martin Senior, or some of his brethren.

(1) This is according to the Genevan version.

To go forward. His lordship of Winchester is a great clerk; for he hath translated his *Dictionary* called Cooper's *Dictionary* verbatim out of Robert Stephanus's *Thesaurus;* and ill-favoured, too, they say (1). But what do I speak of our Bishops' learning? As long as Bishop Overton, Bishop Bickley, Bishop Middleton, the Dean of Westminster, Doctor Cole, Doctor Bell, with many others are living, I doubt me whether all the famous dunces be dead. And if you would have an ill-sample of an excellent pulpit-man, indeed, go no further than the Bishop of Gloucester now living; and in him you shall find a plain instance of such a one as I mean (2).

47 On a time, he, preaching | at Worcester before he was bishop, upon Sir [St.] John's Day, as he traversed his matter and discoursed upon many points, he came at the length unto the very pith of his whole sermon, contained in the distinction of the name of John; which he, then showing all his learning at once, full learnedly handled after this manner. 'John, John; the grace of God, the grace of God, the grace of God. Gracious John; not graceless John, but gracious John. John, holy John, holy John; not John full of holes, but holy John.' If he showed not himself learned in this sermon, then hath he been a dunce all his life.

In the same sermon, two several Johns, the father and the son, that had been both Recusants, being brought publicly to confess their faults, this worthy Doctor, by reason that the young man, having been poisoned beyond the seas with Popery, was more obstinate than his father, and, by all likelihood, he was the cause of his father's perverseness, with a vehement exclamation, able to pierce a

(1) *Verbatim* is not strictly accurate, although the plagiarisms were altogether too great to permit 'Cooper's Dictionary' to be considered an original work. 'An expansion . . . with large additions,' Mr. F. O. White calls it. Sir John Harington (*A Briefe View*, p. 165) says that Elizabeth 'gave Doctor *Cooper*, the Bishoprick of *Lincoln*, onely for making a Dictionary, or rather but for mending that which Sir Thomas Eliot had made before.'

(2) For further reference to Bp. Overton see THE EPITOME, p. 156, *note* (1), and Bishop John Bullingham, *ante*, p. 70, *note* (1).

cobweb, called on the father aloud, in this pathetical and perswading sort. 'Old John, old John, be not led away by the siren sounds and enticements of young John. If young John will go to the devil, the devil go with him'!

The Puritans, it may be, will here object, that this worthy man was endued with these famous gifts, before he was a bishop; whereas since that time, say they, he is not able to say 'bo!' to a goose. You weigh this man, belike, my masters, according to the rest of our Bishops. But, I assure you, it is not so with him. For, the last Lent, in a sermon he made in Gloucester town, he showed himself to be the man that he was before. For he did in open pulpit confirm the truth of his text to be authentical, being the prophecy of Isaiah, out of the Book of Common Prayer; which otherwise would, it is to be feared, have proved apocrypha. His text was, 'A child is born unto us,' which, after, he sweetly repeated very often as before, to the great destruction (1) and admiration of the hearers, saying, 'A child is born. A child is born. A child is born, | unto 48
us. This,' saith he 'is proved, you know, where in that worthy verse of the Book of Common Prayer [it says] *Thy honourable, true, and only Son.*' Afterwards, repeating the same words again, 'A child is born unto us, a child is born unto us,' 'Here,' saith he, 'I might take occasion to commend that worthy verse in our Litany; where this is made very manifest, that the Prophet here speaketh, *By Thy nativity and circumcision.*' What! should I prosecute the condemnation of this man, as though other [of] our Bishops and pulpit-men have not as commendable gifts as he?

And once again to you, Brother Bridges. You have set down a flaunting reason, in the 75th page of your book, against the continuance of the government which the Puritans labour for. And I find the same syllogism concluded in no 'mood'; therefore what if I was ashamed to put it down? But, seeing it is your will to lay on the Puritans with it as it is, put your corner-cap a little near at

(1) That is, anything but *in*struction.

one side (1), that we may see your party-coloured beard, and with what a manly countenance you give your brethren this scouring. And, I hope, this will please you my Clergy-Masters, as well as if I told you how our Brother Bridges played my Lord of Winchester's fool, in Sir [St.] Mary's pulpit in Cambridge; but, no word of that. Now to my reason.

Some kind of ministry, ordained by the Lord, was temporary, saith he. As, for example, the Mosaical priesthood, and the ministry of apostles, prophets, &c. But the ministry of pastors, doctors, elders, and deacons was ordained by the Lord; therefore, it was temporary (2).

Alack, alack, Dean John, what have you done now! The Puritans will be o' the bones of you too bad, for this kind of arguing. And they will reason after this sort

1. Some man in the land, say they, weareth a wooden dagger and a coxcomb. As, for example, his Grace of Canterbury's fool, Doctor Perne's cousin and yours. You Presbyter John Catercap are 'some man in the land.' Therefore by this reason you wear a wooden dagger and a
49 cox | comb.

2. Some presbyter, priest, or elder (3) in the English ministry is called the Vicar of hell. As, for example, one about Oxford, another near Northampton, and the Parson of Mickleham in Surrey (4). But the Dean of Sarum, John Catercap, is 'some priest in the English ministry.' Ergo, he is the Vicar of hell.

3. Some presbyter, priest, or elder preaching at Paul's Cross, 1587, told a tale of a leaden shoeing-horn, and spake

(1) ℳ. 'nere a toe side.' The correction is Arber's.

(2) This is a summary of Bridges' argument on pp. 75, 76 of the *Defence*. Martin accuses him of asserting the temporary character of certain specified offices and from that concluding the temporary character of all ecclesiastical offices. But Bridges' style in these pages is unusally redundant and overlaid with clauses.

(3) 'Presbyter, priest or elder,' is a verbal combination frequently repeated by Bridges in his *Defence*.

(4) ℳ. 'Micklaim.' In HAY ANY WORKE, p. 259, his name is given as Sir Jeffrey Jones. A story is told of Sir Jeffrey Jones earlier on p. 83. He is described as a parson in Warwickshire.

of catekissing; and, preaching at the Court on another time, thrust his hand into his pocket and drew out a piece of sarcenet, saying, 'Behold a relic of Mary's smock'; and thrusting his hand into the other pocket, drew out either a linen or a woollen rag, saying, 'Behold a relic of Joseph's breeches.' 'But,' quoth he, 'there is no reason why Mary's smock should be of sarcenet, seeing Joseph's breeches were not of silk.' This priest being lately demanded whether he should be bishop of Ely, answered that he had now no great hope to [become] bishop of Ely, 'and, therefore,' quoth he, 'I may say well enough, *Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani,* Ely, Ely, why hast thou forsaken me'; alluding very blasphemously unto the words which our Saviour spake in His greatest agony upon the Cross (1). The same priest, calling before him one Master Benison, a preacher, and would have urged him to take his oath to answer such articles as he would propound against; who answered, saying, 'Brother Bishop, I will not swear except I know to what.' With that the priest fell sick of the spleen, and began to swear 'by his faith!' Quoth Benison, 'A bishop should preach faith and not swear by it.' This priest, being in his melancholic mood, sent him to the Clink, where he lay till her Majesty was made privy of his tyranny and then released [him] to the priest's woe. As for example the Bishop of London did all these things, and more too (2). For lying

(1) A story, based upon the same words, and of equal irreverence, is told by Aylmer, who is here referred to, in his *Harborowe,* which I reluctantly quote, though Strype, discussing Aylmer's qualities (*Life of Aylm.* 190) introduces it as an example of his 'facetiousness' in public discourse. The Bishop is accusing Knox of using the words of Scripture with a false signification, and proceeds: 'This argumente riseth of wronge vnderstandinge, as the Vicar of Trumpenton vnderstode Eli, Eli, lamahzabactani, when he red the Passion vpon Palme Sonday, when he came to that place he stopped, and calleing the Churchwardens faide, Neighbouresthis geare muste be amended, heare is Eli twise in the booke, I assure you if my L. of Elie come thys ways and see it, hee will haue the booke. Therefore by mine advife we shall scrape it out, and put in oure owne townes name, Trumpington, Trumpington, lamahzabactani, they consented, and he did so, because he understode no grewe.'—Sig. G 3 vers. See also Martin's righteous indignation, so finely expressed in HAY ANY WORKE, p. 427.

(2) The case of Barnaby Benison, a London clergyman, is one of the most scandalous connected with Aylmer, and for that reason we had

[lodging] at his house at Haddam in Essex upon the Sabbath day, wanting [lacking] his bowling mates, took

better give the Bishop's own defence in full. 'Another mountain that he maketh of molehils (for such is all his blasphemous buildings) is, that one *Benison* a poore man, was kept in the Clinke I cannot tell howe long vnjustly without cause, &c. The trueth is this: *Benison* comming from *Geneua,* full fraught with studie of *Innouations,* and vtterly emptie of obedience, which *Beza* that learned Father had or might haue taught him, as by his Epistles appeareth, both to the Queene and the gouernors of the Church, set vp in *London* his shop of disobedience, being maried in a contrary order to the booke and vsage of the Church of *England,* abusing good M. *Foxe* as hee himselfe in griefe of heart after confessed. After that, the faid *Benison,* gathering conuenticles, and refusing to goe to his owne parish church, seeking to set al in combustion with schisme in the Citie, was long before the B[ishop] heard any thing of him, called before Sir *Nicholas Woodrofe* a graue Citizen, and the Recorder: who found him in such an humour, that they ment to haue sent him to prison. But because he was of the Clergie, they thought good to commit him to his Ordinarie [i.e. Aylmer himself], who trauailing with him most earnestly to bring him to the Church and become orderly, when he coulde profit nothing with him, sent him againe to the Sessions to the Lord Maior and the Iudges. After they had dealt with him, and could finde at his hands nothing but railing, they sent againe to the Bishop, and he finding him in vnspeakable disobedience to her Maiestie and her Lawes, offered him the oath, which he contemptuously and spitefully refused. Which being certified according to order, hee was sent to the Queenes bench, and was condemned, and thereupon sent to prison. And this is that wonderful tragedie wherin this fellow so greatly triumpheth, wishing belike (as his whole Libell seemeth to desire) that no malicious schismatike should be punished for mouing sedition in the laude.'—Bishop Cooper's *Admonition,* 59, 60. Strype, who repeats Aylmer's defence, adds a pitiful plea from Benison to the 'Lords of the Council' that they would move the Queen to order Aylmer to pay him some compensation for his bad usage; charges for *close imprisonment* for 30 weeks in the Clink, the cost of a man to sue for his deliverance, the loss of his 'household stuff,' his valuable books, and the ruin of the freehold which was his only support. From this it would appear as if he had only been separated from his wife, after being married a fortnight, for a period of between six and seven months. Aylmer flippantly dismisses the question of the duration with a 'I cannot tell how long.' But the man in the dark and foul inner dungeon of the Clink counted off thirty weeks. This however was only a small part of Benison's imprisonment. Strype might have observed the discrepancy between his statement that Benison was sent to King's Bench Prison, and the poor man's petition that he had been for 30 weeks in *close* imprisonment in the Clink. The fact is that he was cast in King's Bench Prison in 1579 and was only released in 1584. It would not have been uncustomary for him to have been transferred from one prison to another several times during those years. In a petition which he addressed to the Queen and Council Benison accuses Aylmer of trying to separate his wife from him, and piteously complains that he is half-dead. The Lords of the Council took a righteous view of the case and warned Aylmer that if Benison proceeded to law he would obtain damages for false imprisonment 'which would touch your lordship's credit,' and advised that the Bishop should pay a reasonable sum as compensation for the wrong he had done Benison. (This is dated Nov. 14th, 1584, and is signed by Burghley and ten others of the

servants and went a-haymaking; the godly ministers round about being exercised, though | against his commandment, 50
in fasting and prayer. But you John Catercap are 'some presbyter priest or elder'; therefore you profaned the Word and ministry in this sort.

4. Some presbyter, priest or elder in the land is accused —and even now the matter is in trial before his Grace and his Brethren—to have two wives, and to marry his brother unto a woman upon her deathbed, she being past recovery. As for example, the Bishop of Sir [St.] David's in Wales is this priest, as they say. But you Presbyter John are 'some priest.' Therefore you have committed all these unnatural parts (1).

5. Some priest, preaching at the funeral of one who died —not only condemned by the law of God and of the land, for attempting matters against her Majesty's person and the State; but, also, died an obstinate and professed Papist, without any repentance for her enterprises against her Majesty and the State—prayed that his soul and the souls of all the rest there present might be with the soul of the unrepentant Papist departed. As for example, the Bishop of Lincoln did this at Peterborough, August 2nd, 1587 (2). But you are 'some priest'; Ergo, you made such a prayer.

Council.) Aylmer, who died one of the richest men of his age, then whines about his 'poor estate and great charges'; how Benison will boast over his conquest; and suggests a private arrangement whereby he may satisfy Benison with a small benefice, &c. See Strype's *Aylmer*, 137—139; Neal's *Hist. of the Puritans*, I. 349 ff.; Brook's *Lives*, I. 292 ff.

(1) Martin in THE MINERAL AND METAPHYSICAL SCHOOLPOINTS, § 2, refers again to this scandal, and gives the names of the wives as 'the one Elizabeth Giggs and the other Alys Pryme.' The chief significance of Bishop Middleton's career is the light thrown upon the 'Elizabethan Settlement,' by the fact that such a man should have ever received episcopal ordination and promotion. What if he had been a leading Puritan?

(2) Bishop Wickham of Lincoln preached the funeral sermon at the interment of the body of Mary Stuart in Peterborough Cathedral. As it was a serious belief with Papist and Protestant that salvation was not possible outside their respective creeds, an effort was made at the last to convert Mary. Elizabeth desired Dean Fletcher, the courtly favourite—did not Elizabeth teach him how to trim his beard point device?—to offer his services to Mary. We have conflicting accounts of what happened, but no doubt Mary refused the Dean's polite impor-

6. Some priest in the land lately made, or very shortly meaneth to make, as they say, an old acquaintance of his own, Richard Patrick, clothier of Worcester [to be one] of the reading ministry. As for example his Grace of Canterbury is this priest. But you, Brother Sarum, are 'some priest' as well as he. Ergo, you have thrust a bankrupt clothier in the ministry (1).

7. Some priest, having given a man, whose wife had played the harlot, leave to marry another, desiring the man long after he had been married to another woman to show him his letters of divorcement with promise to deliver them again; but, having received them, they are retained of him, most injuriously, unto this day; and he troubleth the man for having two wives. As, for example, the Bishop of Sir

tunity. The Catholic narrative reports her to have said, 'Master Doctor, I will have nothing to do with you or your doctrine.' So she died an 'unrepentant Papist.' This was on Feb. 8th, the day of her execution at Fotheringay Castle. Meanwhile Elizabeth had gone through her detestable piece of hypocrisy, weeping copiously, protesting her outraged feelings, and finally persecuting Davidson, her unfortunate secretary, for doing that which with her authority he had done; that is, for transmitting the signed and sealed death warrant to the Council for due execution. When, in the beginning of August, the body of Mary was transferred with considerable ceremonial pomp from Fotheringay to Peterborough for interment, we know beforehand the type of sermon we are to expect, in continuation of the whitewashing process. Martin has given us a vital extract. The defence of Wickham by Cooper in his *Admonition*, p. 64, is characteristic and noteworthy. 'What [Bishop Wickham's] wordes were I have forgotten, and yet I heard them deliuered by a learned man that was present . . . but they were nothing sounding to that which the Libell layeth downe. And the person considered at whose funerall hee preached, he could not with comelinesse speake less in her commendation than he did.' The apologist is not moved by simple charity for the dead. He is evidently of the mind that the Almighty must think twice before He damn a person of Mary's quality. Martin's date, Aug. 2nd, 1587, is wrong. The body was removed from Fotheringay on Monday, July 31st, and deposited in a vault overnight. The ceremonious obsequies, including Bishop Wickham's sermon, took place the next day, Tuesday, Aug. 1st. An interesting account of the execution and funeral, based on the State Papers, is given in Mr. Ewald's volume, *Studies Restudied*, pp. 154—163. See also *Tudor Tracts*, ed. by A. F. Pollard, 475; *S. P. Dom.* Mary Queen of Scots, Aug. 1st, 1587. White (Eliz. Bishops, 285 *n.*) supplies the information that an account of the Bishop of Lincoln's sermon exists in MSS., Ashmolean, 836, art. 86.

(1) Whitgift denies that he made or ever intended to make Patrick a minister. He says it is well known that he had only ordained two ministers since he came to the archbishopric.—Bishop Cooper's *Admonition*, 50. Martin, returning to the charge in HAY ANY WORKE, p. 277, claims by the present exposure to have marred Richard Patrick's market.

[St.] Asse [Asaph] is this priest. But you, Dean Catercap, are 'some priest.' Ergo, you do men such open injury (1).

8. Some men that | break the law of God are traitors to 51
her Majesty; as, for example, the Jesuits. But all our Bishops are 'some men that break the law of God'—because they continue in unlawful callings. Ergo, by your reason, they are traitors to her Majesty. But I deny your arguments; for there be many breaches of the law of God, whereof they may be guilty, and yet no traitors.

9. Some men that will not have their lordships, and their callings, examined by the Word, are limbs of antichrist. As, for example, the Pope and his cardinals. But our Lord Bishops are 'some men which will not have their lordships and their callings tried by the Word.' Therefore, they are limbs of antichrist.

10. Some men would play the turncoats with the Bishop of Gloucester, Doctor Reynolds, Doctor Perne (I will let Doctor Goodman, Abbot of Westminster, alone now) (2). But all the Lord Bishops, and you, Brother Catercap, are 'some men.' Ergo, you would become Papists again.

11. Some men dare not dispute with their adversaries, lest their ungodly callings should be overthrown, and they compelled to walk more orderly. But our Bishops are 'some men.' Ergo, they dare not dispute, lest their ungodly calling and places should be overthrown.

12. Some men are thieves and soul murderers before God; as, for example, all nonresidents. Every Lord Bishop is a nonresident. Ergo, he is a thief and a soul murderer before God.

(1) This must be William Hughes, one of the most unworthy of Elizabeth's bishops, 'probably the greatest pluralist the English Protestant Church has ever known'; when consecrated he held the archdeaconry and ten other benefices, all *in commendam*, and afterwards increased the number by six; sixteen in all and nine of them sinecures. He leased the episcopal manors on long terms to his wife, children, sisters, and cousins.—White's *Eliz. Bishops*, 196 f.

(2) See *ante*, p. 73, *note* (3) for ref. to Goodman; and p. 56, *note* (1), for Reynolds, 'the Papist of Rheims.' Perne is the 'old Turncoat' who changed his creed as often as the change in the sovereign's creed made it politic.—See *Hist. Introd.* 113.

13. Some men are become apostates from their ministry, sinners against their own consciences, persecutors of their brethren, sacrilegious church robbers, withstanders of the known truth, for their own filthy lucre's sake; and are afraid lest the Gospel and the holy discipline thereof should be received in every place. But our Bishops are 'some men.' Therefore, by your reason Master Doctor, they are become apostates from their ministry, sinners against their own consciences, persecutors of their brethren, sacrilegious church robbers, and withstanders of the known truth, &c.

14. Some priest is a pope; as, for example, that priest
52 which is Bishop of | Rome is a pope. But his Grace of Cant. is 'some priest.' Therefore, Master Bridges, by your manner of reasoning, he is a pope.

You may see what harm you have done by dealing so loosely. I know what I shall say to these Puritan reasons. They must needs be good, if yours be sound. Admit, their syllogisms offended in form as yours doth; yet the common people, and especially Dame Lawson, and the gentlewoman whose man demanded of her, when she sat at the Bishop of London's fire, 'Why, Mistress, will you sit at Caiaphas's fire?' —will find an unhappy truth in many of these conclusions, when, as yours is, most false. And many of their propositions are tried truths, having many eye and ear witnesses living.

Men, when commonly they dedicate books unto any, enter into commendations of those unto whom they write. But I care not, an I owe you, my Clergy-Masters, a commendation and pay you, when you better deserve it. Instead thereof I will give you some good counsel and advice, which, if you follow, I assure you, it will be the better for you.

First, I would advise you, as before I have said, to set at liberty all the preachers that you have restrained from preaching; otherwise it shall be the worse for you. My reason is this. The people are altogether discontented for want of teachers; some of them already run into corners (1),

(1) That is, persecution is driving the reformers to hold secret meetings. And how wise and farseeing is the observation that follows, that

and more are like, because you keep the means of knowledge from them. Running into corners will breed Anabaptistry; Anabaptistry will alienate the hearts of the subjects from their lawful governor. And you are the cause hereof. And will not her Majesty then, think you, require the hearts of her subjects at your hands, when she shall understand that they are alienated, as God forbid, they should [be], from her, by your means? Yes, I warrant you.

And if they should put up a supplication unto her Highness that their preachers might be restored unto them, I doubt not but they should be heard. I can tell | you she tendreth (1) the estate of her people, and 53
will not discourage their hearts, in casting off their suits, to maintain your pride and covetousness. You were then better to set the preachers at liberty, than to suffer your cruelty and evil-dealing to be made known unto her. For so they shall be sure, I doubt not, to prevail in their suit, and you to go by the worse. And try if her Majesty be not shortly moved in this suit. To it, my Masters, roundly! —you that mean to deal herein, and, on my life, you set the Prelates in such a quandary as they shall not know where to stand.

Now, Masters Prelates, I will give you some more counsel; follow it. Repent, Clergymen, and especially, Bishops. Preach faith, Bishops, and swear no more by it. Give over your lordly callings; reform your families, and your children: they are the pattern of looseness. Withstand not the known truth, no longer. You have seduced her Majesty and her people. Pray her Majesty to forgive you, and the Lord, first, to put away your sins. Your government is antichristian; deceive the Lord no longer thereby. You will grow from evil to worse unless betimes you return. You are now worse than you were twenty-nine years ago.

when the law is made the vehicle of injustice and oppression, it generates lawlessness.

(1) The verb *to tender* used in its now obsolete sense, to care for, to pity. 'To see a prince in want would move a miser's charity. Our western princes tendered his case.'—Fuller (Webster's *Dict.*).

Write no more against the cause of Reformation; your ungodliness is made more manifest by your writings. And because you cannot answer what hath been written against you, yield unto the truth.

If you should write, deal syllogistically; for you shame yourselves when you use any continued speech; because your style is so rude and barbarous. Rail no more in the pulpit against good men; you do more hurt to yourselves and your own desperate cause, in one of your railing sermons than you could in speaking for Reformation. For every man that hath any light of religion in him will examine your grounds, which, being found ridiculous, as they are, [he] will be decided, and your cause made odious.

Abuse not the High Commission, as you do, against the best subjects. The Commission itself was ordained for
54 very good purposes; but it | is most horribly abused by you, and turned clean contrary to the end wherefore it was ordained. Help the poor people to the means of their salvation, that perish in their ignorance. Make restitution unto your tenants, and such as from whom you have wrongly extorted anything. Usurp no longer the authority of making ministers and excommunication. Let poor men be no more molested in your ungodly courts. Study more than you do, and preach oftener; favour nonresidents and Papists no longer; labour to cleanse the ministry of the swarms of ignorant guides, wherewith it hath been defiled. Make conscience of breaking the Sabbath by bowling and tabling; be ringleaders of profaneness no longer unto the people; take no more bribes; leave your simony; favour learning more than you do, and especially godly learning. Stretch your credit, if you have any, to the furtherance of the Gospel. You have joined the profanation of the magistracy to the corruption of the ministry: leave this sin. All in a word, become good Christians; and so you shall become good subjects and leave your tyranny. And, I would advise you, let me hear no more of your evil dealing.

Given at my Castle, between two whales (1); neither four days from Penniless Bench, nor yet at the West End of Shrovetide; but the fourteenth year at the least, of the age of Charing Cross, within a year of Midsummer; between twelve and twelve of the clock.

Anno pontificatus vestri, Quinto,
and I hope, *ultimo* of all
English Popes.

By your learned and worthy Brother,

MARTIN MARPRELATE.

(1) M. Wales.

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II. THE EPITOME

Printed at Fawsley House, Northamptonshire, the seat of Sir Richard Knightley, *circa* Nov. 27—30, 1588

HISTORICAL NOTE

1. THE EPITOME is similar in form to THE EPISTLE; both, as earlier explained, forming a complete work. It is a small Elizabethan quarto of 46 pages (without pagination, sig. A.—G. i. vers.), printed in Waldegrave's handsome black letter —the 'Dutch letter' of the contemporary documents. Of the four Marprelate Tracts printed by Waldegrave, which were all in this type, the present work shows most care. It has an ornamental line at the head of the title-page, and at the beginning of the text. It is furnished with an analytical headline to each page (in Roman type). Four sizes of the b. l. are used in the title-pages of THE EPISTLE and THE EPITOME, and a still smaller size in the marginal notes.

2. The press left East Molesey late in October, 1588—when Mrs. Crane reached her house on the first of November it had been removed—and was taken to Fawsley House by Jeffs, a farmer of Upton, a small village lying a mile west of Northampton. Permission had been granted by Sir Richard Knightley to John Penry to print certain books on the religious condition of Wales, so Sir Richard avers. He gave Penry his gimmal-ring as authority to the keeper, Lawrence Jackson, to receive the press and its appurtenances. Tradition locates the press in the nursery of the house, a room in an octagonal tower in the centre of the frontage of the building as it now exists, and supposed to have been reached by a spiral staircase. The room has, however, vanished in subsequent alterations to the structure. The incident of the gimmal-ring gives colour to the statement of Sir Richard Knightley that he was away from home when the press arrived, and knew very little of its activity. THE EPITOME was probably ready for circulation before the end of November. It is referred to in the trial of Giles

Wigginton on Dec. 6th. For full particulars of the travels of the secret press and the circumstances attending the printing of THE EPITOME, see the *Historical Introduction*, pp. 156 ff.

3. THE EPITOME professes to give a critical summary of the First Book of Bridges' *Defence*. That bulky volume could only be dealt with piecemeal by those who were driven to write and print and sell their works with the utmost secrecy. The question, we may repeat once more, at issue between those seeking a further evangelical reformation of the Church and those who had accepted preferment under Elizabeth, was one of polity, of the external government of the Church. Martin states it specifically in the present Tract (p. 126). The Puritans held that the form was definitely given in the New Testament and could not be altered; the Bishops and their supporters held that it could be arranged to meet the needs of the time, and that Episcopacy, as organised under Elizabeth, was such an expedient form.

4. But though formally a critical review of the first of the sixteen books into which Dean Bridges divided his *Defence*, THE EPITOME is almost more noteworthy as giving the widest publicity to Bishop Aylmer's notorious book, *An Harborowe for Faithfull Subiectes*, published by him at Strasburg in 1559; and expressly as a reply to John Knox's *First Blast of the Trumpet against the monstrous regiment of Women*, which was issued the previous year. Aylmer's defence of the 'regiment of women' was not of the sort to win the favour of Elizabeth. His denunciation of the avarice and corruption of bishops, however, was so outspoken that on that account alone his preferment in Elizabeth's establishment was blocked for many years. He reached at last the Metropolitan see, and became one of the most money-loving ecclesiastics of his age. We can therefore easily comprehend his wrath against Marprelate for giving fresh and wide currency to the fierce reforming views which he entertained in the days of his poverty and exile.

Much of THE EPITOME consists of an ironical defence of the Episcopate and its supporters against the attacks of their 'Brethren' the Puritans. Martin can occasionally give them also a thrust in the ribs; for some of them were overhasty in their disavowal of Martin because of his wit and banter, and some because of his daring personal attack upon Archbishop Whitgift. 'The Puritans are angrie with me' he notes in the present Tract (p. 118). His rejoinder to them is in effect—

> You are angry with me for jesting. But I am compelled to jest; for my opponent Dr. Bridges is an unconscious humourist. Moreover, I am a plain man and speak the truth. Why should you object to that? You object to a Pope at Rome, why then should you not object to a Pope at Lambeth?

5. As our reprint does not correspond page for page with the original, it was impossible to retain the analytical headlines in their places. We have therefore adopted Petheram's convenient device, and printed them in italics in the margin.

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O READ OVER DR. JOHN BRIDGES, FOR IT IS A WORTHY WORK:

Or an Epitome of the

First Book of that right worshipful volume written against the Puritans in the defence of the noble Clergy, by as worshipful a priest, John Bridges, Presbyter, Priest, or Elder, Doctor of Divility, and Dean of Sarum. Wherein the arguments of the Puritans are wisely prevented (1), that when they come to answer Mr. Doctor they must needs say something that hath been spoken.

Compiled for the behoof and overthrow of the Unpreaching Parsons, Vicars, and Curates that have learnt their Catechisms, and are past grace (2): By the Reverend and Worthy Martin Marprelate, Gentleman, and dedicated by a Second Epistle to the Terrible Priests.

In this Epitome, the foresaid Vicars, &c. are very insufficiently furnished with notable inability of most vincible reasons, to answer the cavil of the Puritans.

And lest Mr. Doctor should think that no man can write without sense but his self, the senseless titles of the several pages, and the handling of the matter throughout the Epitome show plainly, that beetleheaded ignorance must not live and die with him alone.

Printed on the other hand of some of the Priests.

(1) (2) See notes to title-page of THE EPISTLE, *ante*, p. 13.

Oh read ouer D. Iohn Bridges/for it is worthy worke:

A Breuiepitome of the

fyfte Booke/of that right worshipfull volume/ written against the Puritanes/ in the defence of the noble cleargie/ by as worshipfull a priefte/ Iohn Bridges/ Preſbyter/Prieſt or elder/Doctor of Diuilitie/ and Deane of Sarum. Wherein the argumentes of the puritans are wiſely prevented/ that when they come to answere M. Doctor/ they muſt needes ſay ſome thing that hath bene ſpoken.

Compiled for the behoofe and ouerthrow of the vnpreaching Parſons/Fyckers/and Curats/ that haue learnt their Catechiſmes/ and are paſt grace: By the reuerend and worthie Martin Marprelat Gentleman/and dedicated by a ſecond Epiſtle to the Terrible Prieſts.

In this Epitome/the ſorelaide Fickers/&c. are very inſufficiently furniſhed/ with notable inabilitie of moſt vincible reaſons/to answere the cauill of the puritanes.

And leſt M. Doctor ſhould thinke that no man can write without ſence but his ſelfe/the ſenceles titles of the ſeuerall pages/ and the handling of the matter throughout the Epitome/ ſhewe plainely/ that beetleheaded ignorance/ muſt not liue and die with him alone.

Printed on the other hand of ſome of the Prieſts.

MARTIN MARPRELATE, GENTLEMAN, PRIMATE AND METROPOLITAN OF ALL THE MARTINS IN ENGLAND,

To all clergy-masters wheresoever, saith as followeth (1):

WHY, my clergy-masters, is it even so with your Terribleness? May not a poor gentleman signify his good will unto you by a Letter, but, presently [at once], you must put yourselves to the pains and charges, of calling four bishops together; John Canterbury, John London, Thomas Winchester, William of Lincoln (2); and posting over city and country for poor Martin? Why, his meaning in writing unto you was not that you should take the pains to seek for him. Did you think that he did not know where he was himself? Or, did you think him to have been clean lost, that you sought so diligently for him? I thank you, Brethren, I can be well, though you do not send to know how I do. My mind towards you, you shall from time to time understand by my 'pistles. As now; where, you must know, that I think not well of your dealing with my Worship, and those that have had (of) my books in their custody. I'll make you rue that dealing of yours, unless you leave it. I may do it; for you have broken the

(1) The running headline of this introductory section is 'The Second Epistle to the Terrible Priests.' See THE EPISTLE, Introductory Note.

(2) Martin had wind of the conferences of Whitgift, Aylmer, Cooper and Wickham, held to consider the episcopal reply to his EPISTLE. For the bishops saw clearly the seriousness of the attack upon them and their system. But Martin was more rapid in his movements, and, writing in the late summer of 1588, he had the present tract in print the latter end of November. The bishops' *Admonition*, edited and chiefly written by the Bishop of Winchester, was not published till the first days of January, 1589, and has only one or two slight and casual references to THE EPITOME.

Conditions of Peace between us (1). I can do it; for you see how I am favoured of all estates (the Puritans only excepted). I have been entertained at the Court; every man talks of my Worship (2). Many would gladly receive my books, if they could tell where to find them. I hope these Courtiers will one day see the cause tried between me and you. I have many sons abroad that will solicit my suit. My desire is, to have the matter tried, whether your places ought to be tolerated in any Christian commonwealth. I say they ought not; and I say, John Canterbury and all ought to be out of his place. Every Archbishop is a petty pope, so is every Lord Bishop. You are, all the pack of you, either hirelings or wolves. If you dare answer my reasons, let me see it done. Otherwise, I trow, my friends and sons will see you one day deposed.

The Puritans are angry with me (3); I mean the Puritan preachers. And why? Because I am too open; because I jest. I jested because I dealt against a worshipful jester, Dr. Bridges, whose writings and sermons tend to no other end than to make men laugh. I did think that Martin should not have been blamed of the Puritans for telling the truth openly. For, may I not say that John of Canterbury is a petty pope, seeing he is so? You must then bear with my ingramness (4). I am plain; I must needs call a spade a spade; a pope a pope. I speak not against him, as he is a Councillor; but as he is an Archbishop, and so Pope of Lambeth. What! will the Puritans seek to keep

(1) See the proposed 'Conditions of Peace' offered by Martin at the close of THE EPISTLE, p. 79.

(2) See *Hist. Intro.*, p. 59, *note*. The popularity of the Tracts is not exaggerated. No better proof could be adduced than the serious effort of the bishops to produce a fitting reply, and the energy of their search for the press and printer.

(3) Martin defends himself against the Puritans, and especially justifies his use of jesting in a fine passage in HAY ANY WORKE, p. 238, where the point is discussed in a note. He also refers to the opposition of the same section of the Puritans to his literary methods in the same pamphlet, p. 245, and in THE PROTESTATYON, p. 406.

(4) Ignorance. See note on the word 'ingram,' THE EPISTLE, p. 42. There is a reference to the above sentence in MAR-MARTINE, 8—published the following year (1589): 'Bear with his ingramnesse a while.'

out the Pope of Rome, and maintain the Pope at Lambeth? Because you will do this, I will tell the Bishops how they shall deal with you. Let them say that the hottest of you hath made Martin, and that the rest of you were consenting thereunto: and so go to our magistrates and say, 'Lo, such and such of our Puritans, have, under the name of Martin, written against your laws': and so call you in, and put you to your oaths whether you made Martin or no. By this means Master Wigginton (1), or such as will refuse to take an oath against the law of the land, will presently be found to have made Martin by the bishops, because he cannot be got to swear that he made him not: and here is a device to find a hole in the coat of some of you Puritans. In like sort to find the printer, put every man to his oath and find means that Schilders (2) of Middelburg | shall [A] 2 be sworn too; so that if any refuse to swear, then he may be thought to be the printer. But Bishops, let your fatherhoods tell me one thing. May you put men to their oath against law? Is there any law to force men to accuse themselves? No. Therefore look what this dealing will produce at (the) length. Even a plain premunire upon your backs, for urging an oath contrary to statute; which is a piece of the foreign power banished by statute (3).

For the rest that will need have my books, and cannot keep them close; I care not how the Bishops deal with such open fellows. And, Bishops, I would I could make this year

(1) For particuars as to Giles Wigginton's refusal to take the oath, see THE EPISTLE, p. 59, *note* (1). Also the Introduction.

(2) Richard Schilders, of Middleburgh in Holland printed many of the works of English Puritans. In a London 'Indenture' for subsidies he is called 'Richard Painter alias Skylder.'—*Publications of the Huguen. Soc.*, X., ii. 171. He came over from Hainault to England in 1567, and was followed in 1568 by 'Trokyn his wyfe.' In that year he was admitted as a 'brother' of the Stationers' Company. But in November, 1578, the Court of the Company prohibited him from exercising the full liberties of a master printer and only allowed him to work 'in the servyce of the freemen of this mistery.' He had migrated to Holland and was established in Middelburg in 1584.—Arber's *Transcripts*, I. 366, II. 882; Ames' *Typ. Antiq.* 583. J. Dover Wilson, *Richard Schilders and the English Puritans*, a paper read before the Bibliog. Society and summarised in its *News Sheet*, Nov. 1910.

(3) On the oath *ex officio mero* see the *Hist. Intro.* pp. 75, 80.

1588, to be the wonderful year (1), by removing you all out of England.

Martin hath told the truth, you cannot deny it, that some of you do injuriously detain true men's goods, as John of London; and some have accounted the preaching of the word to be heresy, as John of Canterbury; &c. All of you are in an unlawful calling, and no better than a brood of petty popes. It will be but folly to persecute the Courtier Martin, until you have cleared yourselves (which you can never do) of the crimes he hath laid to your charge.

Alas, poor Bishops! You would fain be hidden in a net, I perceive (2). I will grow to a point with you. Have but a free disputation with the Puritans, for the unlawfulness of your place, and if you be not overthrown I will come in, and do unto you what you think good: for then I will say that you are no popes. There was the *Demonstration of Discipline*, published together with mine Epistles: which is a book, wherein you are challenged by the Puritans, to adventure your bishoprics against their lives in disputation (3). You have got a good excuse to be deaf, at that challenge, under colour of seeking for Martin: your dealing therein is but to hold my dish, while I spill my pottage: you defend your legs against Martin's strokes, while the Puritans by their *Demonstration*, crush the very brain of your bishopdoms (4). Answer that book, and give the Puritans the overthrow by disputation, or else I see that Martin hath undone you. Be packing bishops, and keep in

(1) In the original the year is printed 1388. The English regarded the Armada year, 1588, as their *Annus mirabilis*. See the opening of Strype's *Annals* for this year—'the wonderful year as it was commonly and deservedly called, with respect to this nation especially.' See also *Hist. Intro.* 144.

(2) See 'danced in a net,' THE EPISTLE, p. 75, *note* (3).

(3) In his preliminary epistle 'To the Supposed Governors of the Church of England, &c.,' Udall's words are, 'Venture your byshopprickes upon a disputation, and wee will venture our liues, take the challenge if you dare.' In regard to Udall and his writings generally, see the *Hist. Intro.*, 212 (8).

(4) It is to be observed that both here and in the reference just made to the *Demonstration*, the author's name is not mentioned, though no one could know better than Martin that it came from the pen of John Udall.

the pursuivants; or, if you will needs send them abroad to molest good men, then pay them their wages, and let them not pull it out of poor men's throats like greedy dogs, as they do (1).

You strive in vain; you are laid open already. Friars and monks were not so bad; they lived in the dark, you shut your eyes, lest you should see the light. Archbishop [s] Titus and Timothy will never maintain your popish callings (2). I have pulled off your vizards; look to yourselves, for my sons will not see their father thus persecuted at your hands. I will work your woe and overthrow, I hope: and you are already clean spoiled, unless you will grant the Puritans a free disputation, and leave your persecuting.

Either from Country or Court
Master Martin Marprelate, will do you hurt.
Rime doggerel,
Is good enough for bishops, I can tell;
And I do much marvel,
If I have not given them such a spell,
As answer it how, they cannot tell.
Doctor Bridges, up and down,
Writeth after this fashown.

(1) The practice of making persons arrested, guilty or innocent, as might afterwards be proved, pay the cost of their arrest, was a source of great injustice and corruption. See Dudley Fenner's complaint, *Hist. Intro.*, 81, 82.

(2) It is part of Bridges' *Defence* to endeavour to prove that Titus and Timothy exercised episcopal functions. See below, p. 144.

THE EPITOME OF THE FIRST BOOK OF THIS WORTHY VOLUME

WRITTEN BY MY BROTHER SARUM, DEAN JOHN

Sic feliciter incipit (1)

A very portable book; a horse may carry it, if he be not too weak.

The whole volume of Mr. Dean's, containing in it sixteen books, besides a large Preface, and an Epistle to the Reader: The Epistle and the Preface are not above eight sheets of paper, and very little under seven. You may see when men have a gift in writing, how easy it is for them to daub paper. The complete work (very briefly comprehended in a portable book, if your horse be not too weak, of an hundred, threescore and twelve sheets, of good demy paper (2)) is a confutation of *The Learned Discourse of Ecclesiastical Government* (3). This *Learned Discourse* is a book allowed (4) by all the Puritan preachers in the land, who would have all the remnants and relics of Antichrist banished out of the Church, and not so much as a lord bishop (no not his Grace himself) dumb minister (no not dumb John of London his self), nonresident, archdeacon, abbey-lubber, or any such loiterer, tolerated in our ministry. Insomuch as, if this stronghold of theirs be overthrown (5), ho, then, all the fat is run to the fire with the Puritans!

(1) The ancient writer, after a custom already grown quaint in Martin's day, wearied with his task, would ingenuously express his feelings on the last page, with such words as *Finit*, or *Explicit, Feliciter*, &c. Martin says of Dean Bridges and his *Defence, Thus prosperously he begins.*

(2) It is a substantial 4to, pp. x + 1402; that is, it contains, in all, four sheets and a half more than Martin assigns to it.

(3) *The Learned Discourse* is the running headline of *A Briefe and Plaine Declaration* inserted by the printer. It is a thin 8vo., measuring only a few inches. It is fully described in the *Hist. Intro.*, 135—139. For brief references to Dr. Bridges and his work, see *ibid.*, 139—143.

(4) Sanctioned.

(5) *i.e.*, *The Learned Discourse.*

And therefore hath not the learned and prudent Master Dean dealt very valiantly (how wisely let John Cant. cast his cards and consider) in assaulting this fort of our precise brethren (1); which he hath so shaken with good vincible reasons, very notably out of reason, that it hath not one stone in the foundation more than it had.

Trust me truly, he hath given the cause 'sicken a wipe in his bricke' (2) and so lambskinned (3) the same, that the cause will be the warmer a good while for it. The reason(s) that moved him to take these (4) pains was, that at the first coming out of the *Learned Discourse* the Doctor in a sermon | of his at Paul's Cross (5) did not only confute a great B 1
part of this book, but by his said learned sermon made many of the Puritans relent, and distrust their own cause. What cannot a smooth tongue, and a scholarlike wit bring to pass! Some other of the Puritans indeed, being more untoward to learn than the rest, stood stiff in their former opinions concerning the government of bishops (notwithstanding this sermon of Master Doctor's), and challenged him for his sermon; offered him the disputation (yea, and the *non plus* too, else I am deceived). Here Master Dean promised them a large confutation of the *Learned Discourse* which in this book he hath now performed; wherein he hath behaved himself very scholarlike. His style is as smooth as a crabtree cudgel. The reader cannot choose but have as great delight therein as a jackanapes hath in a whip. He hath so thumped the cause with cross blows, that

Ah, brother Dean, that you are such a doer!

Challenged for his Sermon!

A smooth style!

(1) It is necessary to note that there is an element in the 'preciseness' of a section of the Puritans with which Martin had only an imperfect sympathy.

(2) Such a blow in his breeches. Bricke = breek, or breeks, sometimes written 'bryk.'

(3) The word is derived not from lamb, but from lam = to beat. A *lambskin* is a stroke or blow. Halliwell quotes from MS. Ashmol. 208, 'And because therof, I did give her three or four lambskines with the yerd.'

(4) M. this.

(5) The title of Dean Bridges' discourse is *A Sermon preached at Paules Crosse on the Monday in Whitson weeke, Anno Domini*, 1572. *Entreating on this sentence, Sic* [enim] *Deus dilexit mundum, &c.* [John iii. 16]. 4to. pp. viij + 182.

the Puritans are like to have a good and a sound cause of it as long as they live. In this one thing I dare prefer him before any that ever wrote; to wit, that there be not three whole periods for every page in the book, that is not graced with a very fair and visible solecism. Oh, most excellent and surpassing eloquence! He speaketh everything so fitly to the purpose, that he never toucheth the matter in question. A rare gift in a *learned* writer. He hath used such variety of learning that very often he hath translated out of one man's writing six or seven pages together (note here a new-found manner of bookmaking). And, which is more strange, he bringeth those testimonies for his purpose, whose very words, translated and set down by him, are as flat against the purpose whereto he bringeth them, as fire in quality is contrary to water. Had not he a right use of his wits, think you, while they were thus bestowed? (1).

Not to stand long in this place; of those qualities in him, whereof, before, I have made some mention to his
B 1 vers. praise in the former EPISTLE. Whatsoever might be for | the ornament and furthering of an honest cause, he hath in this book so defied them all, that elsewhere you are to seek for them; for here they are not to be found. Wherein he hath very wisely and prudently observed the decorum of the cause in hand. 'Like lips, like lettice' as it is in the proverb (2). The goodness and honesty of the matter he handled required such good and honest proofs as he brought. Let those that handle honest and godly causes labour to bring good proofs and a clear style. Presbyter John defended our church government, which is full of corruptions; and

(1) That is, employed.

(2) Nares says that this phrase is an 'obsolete proverb from the Latin, *Similes habent labra lactucas*,' noticed and explained by Erasmus *Adagio*, p. 664. It means bad things suit each other, coarse meat suits coarse mouths, as an ass eats thistles for his salad. It is inserted by Ray, and explained, p. 130.

'Even so I thought
I wish that it was some such thing of nought,
Like lettuce like lippes; a scab'd horse for a scald squire.'
'New Custome,' *Old Plays*, i. 267.

therefore the style and the proofs must be of the same nature that the cause is.

The priest leaves not so much as the title of the Discourse unexamined. The title forsooth is *A Learned Discourse, &c.* (1). A saucy title; but what saith the learned Bridges unto it? Oh, you know, he is good at a stale jest, ever since he played my Lord of Winchester's fool in his sermon at St. Mary's Church in Cambridge. And therefore he jesteth at the title. Aye, we (2), the Puritans, have nothing to do with that sermon; why should they hit their brother in the teeth therewith? He hath made their betters to laugh at him for his sermon, since that time. And why should he not, for his Grace will allow him, because he is content that bishops should be lords? He hath subscribed, weareth a corner-cap, and a tippet, and would gladly come to the honour to wear that which might make him a lord spiritual; and if it were a shaven crown, or a coxcombe, which his Grace's articles would enjoin him to wear, what hurt could that do unto him?

How Master Doctor played my Lord of Winchester's fool in his sermon.

Now I wonder what our brethren will say to this, that their book is scoffed at, at the first dash. I am sure their noses can abide no jest (3). What say they, man? Do you make any question of that? I warrant you they will affirm that the author of the *Learned Discourse* and five hundred green heads more, that are on their side, within two syllogisms, would set the Dean of Sarum at a flat *non plus*, and an | swer his whole work in a threepenny book. B 2
Are they so good at disputing and writing indeed? I hope his Canterburyness will look to this gear, and suffer them to have liberty neither to write nor to dispute. 'The black ox hath trodden on his foot' (4). He hath had some trial by

Black ox hath trodden on his Grace's foot.

(1) See above, p. 122, *note* (3).
(2) ℔. I vs. *I* is commonly used at this time for *aye*.
(3) Beneath this banter, the impatience of Martin with the too 'precise brethren,' who regard jesting as a sin, is evident.
(4) The following sentence explains the meaning of the proverb, 'When the black crowes foote shall appeare in their eie, or the black oxe tread on their foote, who will like them in their age who liked them in their youth?'—Lyly, *Euphues and his England*, p. 1 (*Cent. Dict.*).

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woful experience. What small credit and less gain there is to be had, either in writing or in disputing with these fellows!

State of the question (1).

To the matter. The state of the whole controversy between my brethren bishops and my brethren the Puritans, and so, between this worthy Doctor and these Discourses is, whether the external government of the Church of Christ be a thing so prescribed by the Lord in the New Testament, as it is not lawful for any man to alter the same, any more than it was lawful to alter the form of regiment [rule] prescribed under the Law in the Old Testament. And see whether there be any government in the Church, (as necessarily there must be, or else all confusion will ensue) the same must be by those offices and officers alone, and by no other, which the Lord hath set down and limited in His Word. Or, else, whether man may alter these offices and officers at his will and pleasure, and make new offices and officers as he may in the civil governments. The Puritans say that these offices and officers, which our Saviour Christ and His apostles did ordain, are unchangeable, and that it is not lawful for any prince to alter them, no not though the circumstances of times, places, and persons should seem in regard of convenience to enforce him thereunto. The Doctor, and all the lordly priests in the land, hold the contrary; and swear it to be lawful for the magistrate to ordain what government he will in the Church; yea, that the church governors, contrary to the flat commandment of our Saviour Christ, (Luke $22^{25, 26}$) may be lords; and that the church government, prescribed by our Saviour Christ, and enjoined by the
B 2 vers. apostle, was not immutable, as the regiment [rule] | under the Law was. Insomuch as, in the opinion of Master Bridges and the rest of the clergy, Paul was deceived (Eph. 4^{13}), in saying that Pastors and Doctors were to continue in the Church until we all meet together, that is, unto the end

(1) This concise statement of one of the principal issues in the controversy between the official hierarchy and the Puritans is considered in the Introduction. Here it is sufficient to note that the main dispute is ecclesiastical and not theological.

of the world. Here, then, is the Puritans 'Aye' (1), for the permanency of this government and Mr. Doctor's 'No.' Our brethren (for so of his mere courtesy, it pleaseth Master Dean to call them, whom men commonly call Puritans and Precisians) to make their part (2) good, propound the cause by a like example after this sort.

Ministers of the Old Testament.

The sacrifices of the old Law, (after the building of the Temple) were to be offered (*a*) only at Jerusalem, by a Levite of the line of Aaron (*b*) only, unless a prophet extraordinary ordained it otherwise as (*c*) Elijah did. And the said sacrifices were to be consumed and burned only (*d*) by a fire proceeding from the Lord. Briefly none were to meddle with the Tabernacle, or anything belonging to the service of God, but the sons (*e*) of Levi, whom the Lord appointed for His own service. So that if any sacrifice were offered out of Jerusalem, by any other than a son of Aaron, consumed by any (*f*) strange fire, or any service about the Tabernacle (*g*) performed by a stranger, not appointed by the Lord; then an horrible breach of God's ordinance was committed and punished very memorably by the Lord in (*h*) Uzzah; (*i*) Corah, Dathan [and] Abiram; and two hundred and fifty captains of the congregation, who, not being of the sons of Aaron, would needs offer incense before the Lord.

(*a*) Deut. 22^{21}.
(*b*) 1 Kings 8^{29}.
(*c*) 2 Chron. 6^{5}.
(*d*) Numb. 3^{3}.
(*e*) Levit. 8^{9}, 1 Kings 28^{32}, Levit. 9^{24}, Numb. $3^{12}, {}^{35}$.
(*f*) Levit. 30^{10}
(*g*) Ezek. 44^{7}.
(*h*) 2 Sam. 6^{7},
(*i*) Numb. $16^{1}, {}^{35}$.

Ministers of the New Testament.

In like sort Christ Jesus ordained that when there should be any ministers in His Church they should be able to gather together (*a*) the saints, and that these in their proper and limited places, should be either pastors or doctors. In like sort He ordained that some should (*b*) bear rule and oversee the flock with the minister [deacon] and they should be elders; that the oversight of the church treasury, and | the B 3 care for the maintenance of the poor should be committed (*c*) unto deacons, under which, also, the widows and church servants are contained. He farther ordained, that before these officers should be instituted, and as it were invested

(*a*) Eph. 4^{12}.
(*b*) Acts 20^{17}, ^{28}, 14^{23}, 1 Tim. 5^{17}, Titus 1^{5}, Rom. 12^{8}.
(*c*) Acts 6^{6}, Rom. 12^{8}, Phil. 1^{1}, 1 Tim. 3^{8}.

(1) M. *I* for *aye*.
(2) M. partie.

into their offices, there should be had due examination
(*d*) 1 Tim. 5^{22}, 3^{10}. their (*d*) fitness to execute the same, and their unreprov
(*e*) Rom. 12^{3}, Tit. $1^{6,7}$, 1 Tim. 3^{3}, 5^{11}. able (*e*) life. And that their ordination should be by (
(*f*) Acts 14^{23}, 6^{6}, 2 Tim. 1^{6}. imposition of hands, with fasting and prayer. And by thes
four officers (say our brethren) Pastors, Doctors, Elders an
Deacons, God hath appointed that all matters of the Churc
What offices and officers the Church is to be governed by. should be decided and determined. For these officers onl
(and none else) must have to do with the preaching of th
Word, administering the sacraments, making of ministers
excommunicating and administering of all other churc
censures and punishments; but, as for civil governmen
punishment, and censures, they must not meddle with them
Because these only belong (1) to the civil magistrate, whos
office is not to be usurped by any of the former. Thus ou
Brethren set down the whole state of the controversy, an
thus by Scripture they confirm their Aye (2), and overthro
Master Doctor's No. Parlous (3) fellows, I assure you
For believe me, it would put a man to his trumps to answe
these things soundly by Scripture again.

Page 54. Well, Master Dean, on the other side, very stoutly provet
his No, page 54 of his [Defence], by a connex (4) axiom, t
begin withal; in this manner.

A very fit reason to prove the mutability of the Church government. 'If this Church government, by pastors, doctors, elders an
deacons, be necessary, then the Church in some age and place
either had this government, or had laboured for it' (5). A mos
true and tried truth; what then, Brother Sarum do you assum
from this true government? 'Nay, soft there,' quoth (6) Mas
Dean, 'I trow the Puritans will not drive me to make syllogism

(1) That is, 'belong only.'
(2) MS. 'I.'
(3) Dangerous; from *perilous, perlous.*
(4) MS. 'Conner.' Petheram, by a reference to the MS. copy of TH
EPITOME (Harl. MS. 834), suggests the more intelligible 'connex.' Se
also below, p. 129.
(5) Bridges' words are, 'If this *gouernment* that our brethren *urg*
be so *necessarie*, and of so *great moment to the house or church of God*
then it is likely yt the *Church of God*, though it hath not always and i
all places, yet for the most part of time and places, or at leastwise i
some ages and places, had this *gouernment* maintained and kept it o
striued for it: or else belike it was not thought so *necessarie*.'—*Defence*
p. 54.
(6) MS. ka.

in this book. That is no part of mine intent; for if I had thought they would drive me to such pinches, I would not have meddled with them. Nay, by | their leave, if the assumption or proposition be either more than I can prove, or be against myself, I will omit them. Pardon me, I pray you, my Masters, I will set down nothing against myself. I have brought in a true proposition, and that is enough for one man, I think. Let me see what you can say to that! Mine assumption shall be brought forth at leisure.' Is the wind at the door with you, Brother Dean? I perceive you will be of the surer side, howsoever it goeth. But Brethren [Puritans] what say you to Master Dean's reason? Your answer, I know, may be of three sorts. First, you may say that the reason is Popish. Secondly, you may demand whether it be midsummer noon with him or no; because he bringeth in a connex (1) proposition, and assumeth nothing. Can you blame him in so doing? For the assumption must be either affirmative or negative. Now, if he had assumed affirmatively, he had overthrown himself; if negatively, then you, Brethren, would have denied the assumption, which Master Dean would never have been able to prove. So a man might put himself to a peck of troubles, indeed; and this is a point for your learning, closely to pass by that wherewith a man shall have no honesty to deal.

B 3 vers. Now, good Doctor, send me the measure of thy head, that I may provide thee a good nightcap.

M[aster] D[ean's] prudency, in omitting that which he cannot prove.

Thirdly, you may grant the proposition to be very true (to what end then did Sarum bring it in?); because Geneva and other Helvetian Churches have this government; and you labour for it.

Silly fellows! can you say no more? Then upon them again, Master Dean, with your second reason; thus concluded (page 55) with four good substantial terms. 'No government is an uniform prescript that cannot be altered, but that which God in His Word prescribes to be such. But the Lord has not prescribed the church government to be such, as that "all things appertaining thereunto" is an uniform prescript that cannot be altered. Therefore the church government is not an uniform prescript that cannot be altered' (2). |

Page 55.

B 4

Thou knowest not how I love thee for thy wit and learning's sake, Brother John, (as for thy godliness, I might carry it in my eye, and see never a whit the worse).

(1) M. conex. See *ante*, p. 128, *note* (4).

(2) This is not a verbal quotation, but a summary of Bridges' argument on pp. 54—56 of his *Defence*.

Notwithstanding, methinks your syllogism should have four terms. 1. The church government. 2. All things belonging to church government. 3. An uniform prescript, &c. 4. A government prescribed in the Word.

And ten to one Brother, you never dreamt to have met with your Brother Martin, when you wrote this volume. Well, seeing we are now come together, let me, about this point of church government, fathermillerly spur a question unto you. Tell me then bethout dissimblation (1) what the Bishops and you mean, when the question is concerning church government, to run by and by into the controversy of 'things appertaining to church government'; which, for the most part, are indifferent, and not set down in the Word, but left to the discretion of the Church? As though there were no difference between the questions, By what, and how many offices and officers, the Church is to be governed? In what causes it is lawful for church governors to employ themselves? Whether it be lawful for one of them to meddle with the office of another? Or, for one to do that action, wherein the whole Church should be an agent? Whether they may be magistrates and church governors both at one time? As though (I say) there were no difference between these questions, which are grounded upon the certain prescript rule of the Word that cannot be changed, and other questions, which, although they belong to the service of God, and the outward government of the Church, yet depend not upon anything prescribed and exactly set down in the Word; but upon the grounds of what, in regard of the changeable circumstances of time and place, may be most comely, most decent, most orderly, and best belonging to edification.

The bishops' wonted manner in this controversy to run from the consideration of those things that are moral, unto things indifferent.

What offices and officers the Church is to be governed by.

B 4 vers. Of this latter sort are these points: whether it be | most convenient, that prayer should begin at 8 or 9 o'clock; whether the sermon should continue an hour, or an hour

(1) The dialect of assumed ignorant simplicity to give emphasis to Martin's view that he has discovered Dean Bridges to be somewhat crafty in his argument at this point.

and a half; whether the pulpit should be of wood or of stone; &c. Concerning which the Word hath expressly set down nothing; but commanded that all of them should be squared according unto the rule, let all things be done 1 Cor. 1
honestly by order, and to edification.

Now, [if you] reason with one of our corrupt Bishops, or any other that defend their corruptions, and say that our church government is wicked and unlawful, because it is not expressly set down in the Word, they will by and by demand, whether anything belonging to the service of God be lawful, but that whereof there is express mention made in the Word, and whether anything belonging to Church causes be changeable; as whether it may not be lawful for the minister to preach in his gown; whereas there is no express mention that our Saviour Christ and His Apostles did so? Or, whether it may not be lawful for the Church of Geneva to begin its (1) sermon at 8 o'clock, whereas, it may be, the Church of Helvetia begins at 9, or at 10? So the worshipful Dean of Lincoln (sometime (2) unlearned John Whitgift) not being able to deny but that the ministers ought to be chosen by voice (3), demandeth whether women, forsooth, were not to have a voice in their election or no? And thus all the pack of them run from the matter in controversy unto the question of things indifferent; by this means thinking they may blear the eyes of men, if they can bring any cavil, though never so impertinent to the matter; As who say (4), all men were so ignorant, unlearned, and blinded with the world, as nonresidents and bishops are. I'll (5) desire them to leave this order, or else they are like to hear of it. And I'll (5) desire you, Presbyter Bridges, not to bring four terms in your syllogism again; for if you do, it shall cost me the setting on.

Dean of Lincoln sometim learned Whitgift question

My Brethren, the Pu | ritans, in this place, it may be, c 1

(1) M. his.
(2) M. 'sometimes,' here and in the margin.
(3) That is by the voice of the people.
(4) As believing, or assuming, all men, &c.
(5) M. 'Ile besire.'

would grant your syllogism to have but three terms in it, and so would say, that the words 'all things' in the assumption may be taken ambiguous[ly]; for if your Worship mean 'all things appertaining to the circumstances of the outward service of God,' as, the hours of prayers, the number of communicants in one congregation, &c., as you set down your meaning to be (page 56, sect. 3), then, they say, your assumption is nothing to the matter in question. The *question*, my Masters? Why, what a question is that! Did not I warn you aforehand, that Master Dean had made a vow, not to meddle with the question? But if, say they, you mean the Church officers and their subjects, concerning which the controversy is instituted, then we deny the assumption.

Page 55. And I warrant you Brethren, he proveth the assumption by two reasons (page 55). 'First, Christ is the Owner and Governor of His house, which is the Church, concerning the inward and spiritual government of the heart. Therefore he hath not prescribed the outward government thereof' (1). Surely Brother John, I marvel upon what topic-place this reason is grounded; for Scripture is not the foundation, you know, of the established government you defend. 'As though (will Master Bridges say) you are ignorant, Brother Martin, whence I drew this argument. You would make the world believe, that you know not that I reasoned as my Brother London did, in his *Harborowe* [Harbour] *of faithful subjects*. I tell you I drew my argument from that place whence he drew his, which you shall find set down, page 42 [G. 1. vers.] of his book; for I am sure, Master Marprelate, your book hath the pages set down in it, although the printed book hath them not' (2).

John Aylmer the Bshop of London's book.

The Bishop of London's book.

(1) This is a summary of Bridges' argument given more or less in his words.

(2) The reader will notice the assumption that Bridges is here dramatically replying to the question just proposed by Martin. He tells him that he drew his argument from the Bishop of London's notorious book, the *Harborowe*, and mentions, by the way, that the quotations from it are indicated by the number of the page, although as a matter of fact

O ! I remember well indeed, Brother Sarum, the place you mean, and I remember that John Aylmer's reason is very

the book is without pagination. Already some passing references have been made to the *Harborowe* in Martin's first tract (see THE EPISTLE, pp. 22, 77, *note* (1)), but the new series of quotations given from its pages may be regarded as one of the outstanding features of the present Tract, and one of the chief services rendered by Martin in the controversy of the Reformers with the Bishops. The full title of Aylmer's work is 'An Harborowe For Faithfull and Trewe subiectes agaynst the late blowne Blaste, concerninge the Gouernmēt of VVemen, wherein be confuted all such reasons as a straunger of late made in that behalfe, with a breife exhortation to Obedience. Anno M. D. lix. Proverbes 32. 'Many daughters there be that gather riches to gether : but thou goest aboue them all. As for fauour it is deceitfull, and bewtie is a vaine thing : but a woman that feareth the Lord : She is worthie to be prayfed. Geue her the fruit of her handes, and let her owne worckes prayfe her in the gate. ¶ At Strasborowe the 26. of Aprill.' [1559]. It is printed in Roman type, sig. A—R in fours. Brit. Mus. press mark, C. 38. e. 2. Martin commences numbering the pages of his copy with sig. B 1, the title-page, Epistle to the Reader, and a table of contents occupying the first sheet. The work is an answer to John Knox's *First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous regiment of women,* published at Geneva the previous year, 1558. The *Harborowe,* though subsequently repudiated by Alymer, is thoroughly characteristic of the man, violent and extravagant in its language, but with a keen sense of the real issues of the ecclesiastical controversy, where personal aggrandisement and advantage do not completely corrupt his judgment. He opens his argument with this fine mixture of metaphors. 'Seing therfor that by frowning fortune, and God's wrath, for th' offences of th'inabitantes, Englande is of late both in honour and possessions, not a lytle maymed, Yea, takinge a fall through the negligence of the Nurce halfe made a creple : It is necessary for al good men, and the dutie of all faithfull Subiectes, to haue an eye to it, that it runne not vpon the rockes, and make shipp wrake.' —Sig. B 1. The notorious passage on the conduct of bishops, and some like extracts are given by Martin later on in the present Tract ; but in order to give a complete account of the book, and therefore of its writer, one or two brief extracts may be added. Lamenting the servility of the Parliament under Mary, he breaks forth, 'Would God that that court of daies, had feared no more the fearcenes of a woman, than they did the displeasure of such a man [Hen. VIII.]. Then should they not haue stouped contrary to their othes and alledgiaunce to the crowne, against the preuilege of that house, vppon their marye bones to receiue the Devels blessinge brought vnto them by satans Apostle the Cardinal.'—Sig. H 3 and vers. No Puritan could speak more contemptuously of everything pertaining to Popery ; its doctrine is 'deuelishe,' the *host* is 'the God in the boxe,' the eucharist a 'blestered masse.' Here and there he angles quietly for the favour of Elizabeth, though he can be disdainful enough of women in general ; and the worst sort of them, after a dozen or more strong expressions of disparagement, he declares to be 'in euery wise doltified with the dregs of the Devils dunghil.'—Sig. G 3. He appeals strongly to the patriotism of his fellow-countrymen. 'Play not the milksoppes in making curtsy who shall go first : but shew your selues true Englishe men in readines, courage, and boldnes : and be ashamed to be the least, feare neither french, nor Scot. For first you haue God, and al his army of angels on your side : you haue right and trouth, and seeke not to do them wronge, but to defend your own right. Think not that God will suffer

like yours. For (saith Aylmer) 'The Scripture meddleth
C 1 vers. with no | civil policy [any] farther than to teach obedience'; therefore it teacheth not what persons should bear rule (1). And again, page 44. The minister's office is 'over the soul' (2); therefore a minister must not reprehend disorders in the civil state. Page 47, Paul's commission is to teach obedience, therefore he hath nothing to do to call for a redress of matters in civil policy (3); yea, in this 47th page, line 19, John of London has these words, which to his commendation, I will set down as follows:

Paul hath gone beyond his commission, saith John of London.

'And this being a great matter of policy' (saith he), 'as it is (4) the greatest (for it contains the whole) it cannot be within the compass of Paul's commission, and so it followeth, that Paul (5) in this place meant no such matter as they gather, or if he did, he did it without the compass of his commission,' &c. (6).

Now truly, Brother Bridges, I thank you heartily for putting me in mind of this point. I hope my Brother London cannot be offended with us, for quoting him for our authority. I see now it is no marvel, though Paul be put to silence within the diocese of London; for I perceive there is an old grudge between my Lord and him. Yet I commend your Fatherhood, better than his Lordship in this point. For in the 57th page of your book, you allow Paul

you to be foyled at their handes, for your fall is hys dishonour; if you lose the victory, he must lose the glory.' To crown these sentiments Aylmer writes in the margin, 'God is English I.'—Sig. P 4 vers.

(1) The sentence referred to reads as follows. 'Saynte Paule, nor none of the reast of Christes garde meddle not with cyuill pollycie, no further than to teach obediēce, not haue no commission thereunto in all the whole scripture.'—*Harborowe*, Sig. G 4.

(2) In the margin, in the original, the words are, 'Priestes office is over the soule.'—*Ibid.*, G 2 vers.

(3) The following appears to be the sentence which Martin has in his mind. 'It falleth not unto a disciples, an apostles, or churche mans office, to meddle with such [civil] matters: thei haue their princes, guides, and governours, the churche men [clerics] be no suche: For *Nemo militans deo implicat se mundanis negotiis* (2 Tim. 2⁴). It is enough for them to wayte upon one office, to attende as soule priestes and not erraunt baylifes.'—*Ibid.*, G 2 and vers.

(4) 'Yea' in the original.

(5) 'Either' is omitted from the quotation.

(6) *Harborowe*, Sig. G 4.

a larger commission; where you say, that the Word of God is able to make the civil government perfect; yes, and that the perfection of the civil government must be out of the Word, and in the Word, inclusively (1). But for all this you must give me leave to doubt how this reason of yours followeth. Christ hath prescribed the inward government; therefore He hath not prescribed the outward. It may be your second reason will make the matter more clear unto me; which is in the same page, and thus framed: 'We are Page 55.
His Church if we hold fast the confidence of our hope unto the end. Therefore there is no external government of the Church set down in the Word.' | This reason, to omit what c 2
ground it has in the Word, is very plausible even in nature; is it not think you? A man is a man, though he go naked. Therefore by Master Dean's reason, the Lord hath ordained no covering for his nakedness. Again a man is a man, if he be once born, though he never eat meat; therefore it is not the ordinance of God he should eat meat. Let our cavilling brethren go see now, what may be brought to reproach the credit of such inforcible proofs. Master Doctor doubtless will stand to his tackle whatsoever they bring. If they should be so ignorant as to deny the consequence of both these reasons, they must stay until Master Dean has read over his predicables and predicaments with Friar Titlemane's rules *De inueniendis mediis*; (2) viz., until he has got a bishopric; before he prove either of them. And it may be then, too, that he will prove what they deny, as Master Canterbury has proved, that which Master Cartwright confuted.

(1) This is a summary of Bridges' argument.

(2) Francis Titleman, a cordelier—in France, one of the regular order of Franciscan monks—is stated in Dufresnoy's *Tablettes Chronologiques* (trans. by Thos. Floyd, 1762, 2v. 8o.), p. 365, to have been noted as a Scripture commentator, He died in 1553. The work Martin refers to is entitled *Compendiū Dialecticae Francis. Titelmanni, ad libros logicorum Arist. admodum vtile, ac necessarium. Nuper recognitum. Cui accessit tabula vniuersam philosophiæ partitionem continens. Parisiis: Ex officina Prigentii Calvarini ad Geminas Cyppas in Clauso Brunello.* 1543. At p. 20 *b* we have 'Quatuor regulæ ad inuētionem medii vtiles.'

Page 56. In the meantime, mark how stoutly Master Dean goes forward. And although (page 56) he meet by the way with his known sweet friend Bellarmine's—a Popish writer's—distinction of 'agreeable, and not contrary, to the Word' (the Papists (1) affirming all their traditions to be agreeable, and none of them contrary, to the Word), yet his answer (page 57) to the place of Paul (2 Tim. 3^7) is as good and as canonical as any of the former reasons, [and] concluded thus—

Bellarmine's opinion, and the Master Dean's all one on this point.

Page 57.

'The place of Scripture which doth not deny, but that the civil government, which must be inclusively according to the Word, may be elsewhere prescribed than in the Word, that place also doth not forbid the church government to be fetched from some other fountain than the prescription of the Word. But this place (2 Tim. 3^7) doth not deny but that civil government, being a government, nor [and not] prescribed in the Word, may be learned elsewhere than out of the Word, and yet be accor | ding to the Word. Also it doth not deny but that the church government may be a church government according to the Word, which is not therein prescribed' (2).

Your consequent is false, Master Dean.

C 2 vers.

It is a hard matter, I tell you, to conceive all the wisdom (3) of this syllogism. For if you mark the proposition very well, you shall therein find the errors—as Master Doctor accounteth them—of Peter and Paul very notably overthrown. The one of them calleth (*a*) the civil government an human ordinance; the other (*b*) affirmeth our Saviour Christ to have ordained every minister and church officer that were at any time to be in the church, and to have tied the minister unto two ordinary functions of pastors and doctors. But his Worship, lighting upon William Woodcock's *Divinity*, putting in the propositions both that the church government is an ordinance of man, invented and ordained by man, and also that there may be as many sorts of ministers in the Church (if the magistrate will have

Peter and Paul confuted.

(*a*) 1 Pet. 2^{15}.

(*b*) Ephes. 4^{12}, Rom. 12^8, 1 Cor. 12^{28}.

William Woodcock's 'Divinity.'

(1) ℳ. papistics.
(2) This is a summary of Bridges' argument *Defence* pp. 56, 57.
(3) ℳ. Wisdomnes (*i.e.*, Wisdom-ness).

it so) as there be degrees of civil officers in a commonwealth.

You may see, then, how heady and perverse these our Brethren are, that had rather stick to a poor fisherman and (a) tentmaker, Peter and Paul, in a matter of truth, than embrace the manifest falsehood of so plain an untruth, with a fat dean, and all the brave spiritual lords in the land. Well fare, our clergymen yet; who—being like the priest whereof John of London maketh mention [of] in his foresaid book (page 32, line 8), that sware by his priesthood, that if the Trinity were not in his portesse (1), he would not believe it—will allow of nothing but that which is in the Bishop of Canterbury's Articles, be it never so often read in Paul's writings.

Another course at yo Brother London!

And I trow, Master Doctor's reasons following will make the Puritans stoop unto his Grace, and leaving (2) their peevishness, and running beyond their commission, after the example of Paul, in speaking against any established government; yea, and a government established by Act of Parliament. I think my Lord of London gave Paul enough, as we heard before, for meddling with state matters. And his Grace admonisheth the Puritan preachers often enough, that howsoever they have truth of their side, yet they must not run beyond the law, and without a law; if they do, though they have Peter and Paul to speak for them, yet, by your leave, he hath in his hands that which will tame them and all their fautors (3); if the abusing (4) of the High Commission and a whole popedom be able to do it.

C 3.

His Grace is able now to make the Puritans to stoop, I warrant you.

But all this while we go not on forward with you, Brother Sarum. Therefore in the next page let us hear how you fetch your brethren over the coals, with your next reason;

Page 57.

(1) Portesse (or portasse; found also in a variety of other spellings) = a breviary; a portable book of prayers. Aylmer's words are 'Like to a certen Sir Iho which said, by my priesthode, if the Trinitie were not in my portase, I wold not beleue it.'—*Harborowe*, sig. E 4 vers.

(2) 'Leaving' is here an infinitive = 'to leave,'—notwithstanding its participial form. It is congruous with the preceding word 'stoop.'

(3) Aiders, encouragers, favourers.

(4) That is, the abuse of law *by* the H. C.

whereof, trust me, I know not, almost, though it were to gain a bishopric, how I should make a good syllogism; but I will do my best, after this manner.

It sufficeth that such orders as are not prescribed in the Word as 'things necessary to Salvation,' be they civil or ecclesiastical, be only folded up within those that are prescribed; and to make them (1) as things expedient to edification, order and comeliness, for obedience' sake; although they be none of those things that appertain to any necessity of our Salvation, or to any absolute necessity of our obedience. But such is the church government, as (2) it is not prescribed in the Word as necessary to Salvation, or of any absolute necessity of our obedience. Therefore it is sufficient that the church government be only folded up within the things prescribed in the Word, and be of the nature of the things that only belong to edification, order and comeliness (3).

C 3 vers. I was never so afraid in my life, that I should not | come to an end till I had been windless. Do you not see how I pant? (4) Our 'Brethren' [*i.e.*, the Puritans] now are to come to their answer. 'Concerning *necessary to Salvation*, then', say they, 'we would know, Brother Bridges, and, thrice learned Brother Bridges, we would know, what you mean; whether [it be] such a necessity as without which men cannot be saved.' 'I mean even the same' saith Master Dean, 'as it appeareth, page 60, ll. 21, 22 of my

William Woodcock's divinity.

(1) Read: 'making them as things,' &c.

(2) For lucidity read 'since it is not prescribed,' &c.

(3) The significance of Martin's words will be clearer if Bridges' sentence is given complete: 'But it sufficeth for such *orders* as are not *prescribed*, nor specified as *things necessarie to saluation*, both in life and manners, to leuell all such *orders* (be they ecclesiasticall, ciuill, or morall) according to the analogie of those that are specified and *prescribed:* and to receiue them, either as folded up or unfolded, in those generall specifications and *prescriptions:* and so to esteeme them in their degrees, as *necessarie* or expedient to edification, for *order, comlinesse* or *obedience* sake, although they be none of those things that directlie apperteine unto the *necessitie of our saluation*, or to anie absolute *necessitie of our obedience.*'—Bridges' *Defence*, p. 57.

(4) It is one of Martin's criticisms of Bridges' style that his periods are so inordinately long.

'book' (1). Then, we reply that nothing is of this necessity, but [except] only justifying faith, and we deny the sacraments to be of this necessity. For the thief on the gallows (*a*) was saved without them. And we think, moreover, your impiety and ignorance, Master Dean, to be outrageous and intolerable (say they) in that you go about to teach the Holy Ghost what he shall prescribe in the Word; because, by this proposition of yours, nothing should be prescribed therein concerning the sacraments; for they are not there prescribed as things necessary to Salvation, in such sort as men cannot be saved without them. (*a*) Luke 23[43]

But, if you meant not this necessity, then we would know if you can tell yourself what you would have (forsooth, Brethren, a bishopric, he would have; and all such troublesome fellows as you are, banished the land). Ho, you mean such a necessity as every church is not bound to observe the same order upon this obedience. For example; you mean that every church or several congregation in Europe, professing truth, is not bound to have their church covered with lead, as the Monastery of Sarum is. For they may lawfully have it covered with slate (2) or tile. You mean that they are not bound every one of them, to have a sermon upon the Wednesday; for they may lawfully have it upon any other day in the week. That every church is not bound to have a pulpit four foot high; for they may, without sin, have one lower or higher, if expediency and edification require | the same. 'That is even my meaning C 4 indeed, and so I would,' page 59, saith Master Dean, '*that these things should be urged no otherwise than Paul doth urge them; that is, not placing the perfection of religion in them, or making them orders necessary for the building, but rather*

Master Dean, my friend is not so precise as [that] he thinks it necessary for them to have a sermon upon the Sabbath.

(1) The last sentence in the following represents the lines referred to: 'For the *true church* is onlie of the elected: and therefore either all that have not had (since Christ's time) this prescribed forme of gouernment were not *the church of Christ at all*, or els, this *prescribed forme of gouernmẽt* is not *necessarilie apperteining to the saluatiõ of vs men*. And if not *necessarie* then vnnecessarie to our saluation.'—*Defence*, p. 60, ll. 21, 22.

(2) ſlate, slade.

for the ornaments of the building, and so squaring them all according unto the rule, "Let all be done honestly and by good order."' Is this your meaning, Master Doctor, you have spun a fair thread (1). Can you tell your brother Marprelate, with all your learning, how to decline what is Latin for a goose (2)? Why this every one of your 'Brethren' his self will grant to be true; and they never denied it at any time. But this is not the question. For it is neither concerning church officer, or office, or any part of church government, whereof the question is instituted; but it is concerning matter of circumstance. Yet, Brother John, what do you mean by these contrarieties in this point? For you have heard (page 59) you mean by 'things necessary to Salvation,' matters of indifference; and (page 60, lin. 21, 22) you mean an absolute necessity, without which men cannot be saved. Do you think that you can answer men, by saying that you indeed wrote page 59, but Dr. Perne wrote page 60, the which you had no leisure to oversee (3)? This is a pretty answer, is it not, think you? Let me take you again in such a prank, and I'll course (4) you, as you were better to be seeking Gammer Gurton's needle (5) than to come within my fingers. And learned Master Doctor, say the Puritans, we will give you leave to take either of these two necessities to be your meaning. If you mean, as page 59, be *necessary to Salvation*, then they deny the assumption. And yet they will have one course more at the proposition before they go; because it came from Rome and will bring forth a

A proposition fet from Rome and like to breed a Jesuit ['fet' = fetched].

(1) Read: 'If this is your meaning, Master Doctor, then you have spun a fair thread.' The preceding lines are a summary of Bridges' argument commencing at the top of page 59 of his *Defence*.

(2) This would appear to be the passage which Giles Wigginton refers to in a somewhat obscure passage in his report of his examination before Whitgift (Lambeth, Dec. 6th, 1588). 'When he [Munday, the pursuivant] came to Lambeth he accused G. W. treacherously as having read the Second Booke of Mar[tin] and as having told the tale of Spell Goose out of it.'—*Second Part of a Register*, p. 813.

(3) Martin has previously hinted that Perne had a hand in writing the *Defence*. See EPISTLE, p. 38. Whitgift acknowledged that 'he did in deede peruse *Doctor Bridges* booke before it went to the Presse.'—Cooper's *Admonition*, p. 38.

(4) *Vide ante*, THE EPISTLE, p. 43, *note* (3).

(5) See THE EPISTLE, p. 33, *note* (3); also below, p. 167.

Jesuit, unless betimes it be had to the House of Correction. They say, then, that you still join with Bellarmine. For in the state of | the question concerning tradition, he hath C 4 vers.
the same civil (cap. 8, lib. 2) against Calvin, Luther and Kemnitius, which you have, concerning 'comeliness and order,' in this place against your 'Brethren.' What a saucy fellow was that Bellarmine, that must needs publish his work for the Pope just one (1) year before you published yours for the Archbishop. Could he not keep it in until both your books might be published together. For now these Puritans do shake you very shrewdly for borrowing popish stuff from Bellarmine, and overthrowing her Majesty's supremacy; whereas I am persuaded that although Bellarmine had never written, yet the master that taught him would, in time, have fully instructed you, in all these points that are forged upon his anvil. And although, as I think, he saved you a great deal of study, yet I pray you let Dr. Perne write unto him, that he may know his fault, and you be certified when he writeth againe; that both your books may come forth together.

Master Doctor's collection (2) out of popish writers.

Now if, in your assumption, say our 'Brethren,' if you mean by 'necessity to Salvation' that without which men cannot be saved, as before; it is true that the church-government is not of this necessity; for in that sense, as was said, the Sacraments are not necessary to Salvation, or, of any absolute necessity unto obedience. Nay, to be no traitor, no idolator, no whoremonger, is not of that absolute necessity to Salvation; but that he may be saved, which hath been—so that now he be none—sometimes an idolator, &c. If you mean that other necessity, whereby all they that will have any government in the Church are bound to have that only, and none else, which God hath prescribed in the Word; or else, transgress the inviolable prescript

(1) ℳ. 'one just.'
(2) 'Collection' is the word regularly used for a book of extracts from an author or a class of authors. Thus John Bale, bishop of Ossory, published 'German Collections,' 'French Collections,' 'English Collections.'

ordinance of God, concerning the government of His church; then they deny the assumption. Here is a pretty matter, that one poor syllogism must be thus handled. I
D 1 would his Worship knew who they were, that thus | deal with him. I hope it should not be long ere Watson the pursuivant (1) (as unnatural a sour-faced knave as ever was in that office) should trudge for them. They shall be met with one day, I doubt not.

Page 58. Master Dean, page 58, sheweth very wisely that men must warily take heed how they build (for the Bishops have these thirty years so built, that they are almost come to dig at the foundation of the Church) lest belike men should, by building after the manner of the Apostles, overthrow the Monastery of Sarum. And that were pity, seeing from thence these natural reasons following have issued.

Anything in religion may be altered by the Bishops' divinity.

Everything that is prescribed in the Word containeth in it the perfection of religion. But the church government doth not contain in it the perfection of religion. Therefore the church government is not prescribed in the Word. No, Brother John, nor baptism neither. For baptism doth not contain the perfection of religion in it; and therefore, as you may wisely conclude, it is not prescribed in the Word. We may alter what we will now, so that the part which we alter contain not the perfection of religion in it, and be agreeable unto my Lord of Cant. ['s] (2) Articles. For they must be altered in no case. And what reason is it that the Lord's Supper should be received under both kinds, if the civil magistrate and the Church will otherwise ordain. For no sacrament containeth in it the perfection of religion, and therefore, by Master Dean's proposition, the celebration thereof is not prescribed in the Word. A man might keep good stir in the pulpit, or in writing, having but this ground allowed him. And, I think, of such a preacher as this should be, John of London spake in his foresaid book,

(1) See THE EPISTLE, p. 84, *note* (2); HAY ANY WORKE, p. 275.
(2) Martin uses 'Cant.' as an abbreviation for 'Canterbury' and 'Canterbury's.' Here it is necessary to add the 's, though the short form must be kept for the sake of the pun implied.

page 49, line 2; where he describeth his preacher after this manner: *that he should be no milksop, no white-livered gentleman, that for the frowning and cloudy countenance of every man in authority will leave his flock and cry, Peccavi* (1). And again in this page: *When they come to | handigripes, they must not only flourish, but they must know their quarter-strokes, and the way how to defend their head, &c.* (2). Such a preacher, I say, as this would quickly with his quarter-strokes overturn all religion and with very good reason, if Dean John's proposition be true that 'everything which is prescribed in the Word containeth in it the perfection of religion.'

John Aylmer, the Bishop of London's preacher with his quarter-blows.

D 1 vers.

John Aylmer you must know was very good with a two-handed sword in his youth.

Will you have any more of these blows, Brethren? Then, touch them again, Parson John, with the second reason in this page. *Everything that is prescribed in the Word is of the substance of the building. The church government is not of the substance of the building. Therefore it is not prescribed in the Word.* Nothing but paralogisms. Sir Bridges, do you not know before whom you speak? You think now that you play my lord of Winchester's fool, do you? Or, that you are in the Monastery of Sarum, among your roaring choristers. I would advise you, learn this of me, that the church government is a substantial point of religion; and therefore of the substance of the

(1) ℳ. 'pecavi'; Aylmer has the correct spelling. See next note.

(2) The above extracts may be compared with the original pages, which presents us with a fair example of Aylmer's style. After setting forth reasons why women because of their lack of suitable training, and, in any case 'because nature hathe made them softer and milder then menne,' he proceeds, 'For those that be preachers must be no mylke soppes, not white lyuered gentlemen, that for the frowning and cloudy countenance of euery man in authoritie will leaue his tackle and crie *Peccaui*. They must be of such nature, as the Poet saieth of Crito, *in vultu grauitas, in verbis fides* [ref. in margin to Terent[ius]]. They may not be afrayed to rebuke the proudest, no not kynges and quenes so far furth as the two tables [of the Decalogue] reacheth. As we see in Samuel, Nathan, Elie, Ihon Baptist, and many other. They may not stoupe to euery mans becke, and study to please men more thē God. . . . If preachers and spirituall ministers be suche: where be we when we come to handgripes. They must not only florishe, but they must know their quarter strokes, and the way how to defend their head, their head Christe I saye, and his crosse.'—*Harborowe*, sig. H 1.

building. That it is a substantial point, it appeareth, because it is included within the commandment which our Saviour Christ gave unto His Apostles, when He sent them to build His Church, commanding them, not only to teach and baptise all nations (which are the things that you think only to be substantial unto the building, nay, wicked Bishops, [you] will not acknowledge preaching to be of the substance of the building) but, also, to teach them to observe whatsoever He commanded them. Now He (*a*) ordained, He commanded, that the church should be governed by these four offices, or else the Apostles would never (*b*) have observed them, and prescribed them unto the Church. Was there nothing wanting unto the building in Crete, while they wanted elders there? If there was not, why should Titus stay there to ordain elders in every city? If there was, what a dunce are thou to deny the church govern | ment to be of the substance of the building. Paul saith in that place, Tit. 1^5, that he appointed that Titus should ordain elders there. Paul belike in this place did appoint these things to be ordained, which were not of the substance of the building. You were best to say that Paul had nothing to do with church government, but to teach obedience, and therefore went beyond his commission in meddling with these matters. Archbishop Titus belike, whereof you speak now, should be all the doer in church matters; yet I am glad of one thing, that Paul was so bold as to command Archbishop Titus, and to enjoin him what he should do in his own diocese. I say in his own diocese; for Master Doctor proveth anon that Titus was Archbishop of Crete. Now if Titus, who I doubt not was as good an archbishop as his Grace of Canterbury (if ever he was any—as he was not) and might every day in the week go cheek by jowl with his Grace, did yet suffer himself in his own diocese to be commanded by Paul, and presumed to do nothing but that which Paul commanded him to do, then I see no reason why Paul should not bear a little more sway in Canterbury diocese than he doth. And I see no reason

Matt. $28^{19, 20}$.

(*a*) Rom. 12^6, 1 Cor. $12^{28, 33}$, Acts 15^6, Eph. 4^{12}.

(*b*) Acts 6^6, 14^{23}, 1 Cor. 23^1, Tim. 5^{17}, Jas. 5^{14}, Titus 1^5.

D 2

Archbishop Titus controlled by Paul in his own diocese.

Paul commanded Archbishop Titus in his own diocese.

A worthy note.

why his Grace should presume to do things so flat contrary to Paul's mind as he doth; whereas he ought to do nothing, but by Paul's commandment. His Grace shall one day answer me this point, or very narrowly escape me a scouring. And you, Dean John, go forward; I am content to let you pass my fingers at this time.

'*If any were saved* (saith the Doctor, page 60) *without this government, then it is not necessary to Salvation. But many were saved without this government that our brethren would have; therefore it is not necessary to Salvation.*' (1). John of London with his two-hand sword, could have quitted himself no better than this. Our brethren grant all this, Brother John, because you mean by 'necessity to | Salvation,' such a necessity as without which men cannot be saved. The next reason is for the golden pen. *Either necessary or unnecessary; but not necessary to Salvation. Ergo, unnecessary.* Thus Master Doctor carrieth away the matter very clearly. Only he straineth a little courtesy with the *Learned Discourse*, in putting 'necessary to salvation' for 'appertaining to salvation.' You know he that can, with a guilty conscience, have a faculty for two livings, may as well be dispensed with for a lie or two. And, I wis (2), these fellows need not to be so precise of (3) swearing 'by faith' and 'troth,' and straining out a small lie for a benefit; they commit grosser sins many times. And thus Master Doctor hath overthrown their whole building in general. Now he cometh to the spoiling of every particular part thereof.

Page 60.

D 2 vers.

A lie may be dispensed with as well as Master Doctor's faculty of two benefices.

But before I come to these points, I care not, inasmuch as there hath been often mention made of my Lord of London's book between our brother Bridges and me, if I set down some part of my judgement concerning that book.

(1) This is a summary of the first part of the page quoted.
(2) In the orig. 'I wisse.' Martin follows the usual misunderstanding of the old Med. Eng. adverb *i-wis* (from an earlier *ge-wis*), meaning 'truly,' 'certainly,' as if it were the pronoun *I* and some part of the verb *wit* (preterite *wist*) = to know.
(3) About, in the matter of.

Here is indecorum personæ in this speech, I know; for the Doctor should not give me this warning, but you know my purpose is to play the dunce after his example.

'O, but Master Martin,' will my brother Bridges say, 'will you meddle with that book which Master Aylmer wrote in the defence of her Majesty's government? So you will give me and the Bishops just cause to say that you are a seditious fellow, and one that disliketh her Majesty's government. And by this means you will incense many against you, that otherwise could not but favour your worthiness and learning.' I would they durst say, even any bishop of them all say, that I dislike her Majesty's government. I would make poor bishops of them, or I had done with them, if they should slander me in this sort. And they dare but raise up this slander against me, I will persecute the whole generation of them, and make them weary of slandering while they live. Shall they deal with me as you do, Brother Bridges, think you, with Danæus, in your book,
D 3 whom you bring as an enemy to her Majesty's | government, whereas he, by name and in manifest words, commendeth and praiseth very highly her Majesty's regiment above all others? Or, will they deal with me, as they have done with Master Beza? Master Beza (cap. 44 of his *Confessions*, written in Latin) saith that he disliketh their judgments, who think it unlawful for women to bear rule. This book is translated into English, but it hath all this point left out in the English copy; to the end they may, as it is reported, bear her Majesty in hand (1) that Master Beza is against her regiment (2), and so, that her Majesty may be brought in detestation of the church government which Master Beza favoureth, as being a church government that cannot stand with the civil government of women. What say you to this geare, Bishops? Have you dealt well with Master Beza? Deal thus with me an you dare. If you will say that you had no such intent as to slander Master Beza, in leaving out the said point, then, I say, that you are enemies unto her Majesty's government, in that you will wipe out of a printed, and a translated book that which was written in her

The Bishops' dealing with Master Beza and Danæus.

A horrible part and an ungodly. Confer the English with the Latin copy.

(1) To bear in hand = to deceive cunningly.
(2) Rule.

defence, especially suffering the rest of the book to be printed.

To return to John of London's aforesaid book, I say although he hath therein spoken against bishops, even our bishops now living, and so against himself, as being now a bishop, yet that his book is a carnal and unlearned book, smelling altogether of earth, without rime, and without reason. And that his speaking against bishops therein was but a snare to catch a bishopric, as it now appeareth. The particular sentences and marginal notes shall be set down, and where I set any note upon your book, there shall be an M. for difference' sake added thereunto. We will begin with your own words unto the bishops, that is, unto yourself and your brethren, page 23.

The Bishop of London, against Protestant bishops.

Page 23 'The Bishops have time of repentance.'

'Oh, they may thank God, say you, that they have this time to breathe them, and bethink them of their naugh | ty and hellish cruelty, and to call daily and hourly for pardon and forgiveness; for let them think, that if they be not punished in this life nor repent, God accounteth their deeds so vile, and their faults so heinous, that no temporal pains be enough for such offences. And therefore reserveth them to eternal damnation. Oh, howl and wail, you priests and prelates, not for the danger you stand in of losing your bishoprics and benefices, your pride and your pomp, your dignities and honours, your riches and wealth; but for that hell hath opened her mouth wide, and gapeth to swallow you, for the shedding of so much innocent blood, for murdering so many martyrs—

D 3 vers.

'Note, you prelates!'

(though this be true in our bishops, yet let me say, 'for inprisoning so many innocents, and murthering the souls of so many in ignorance')

'and spoiling Christ's Church of so many glistering and glorious ornaments, commended of all for their learning, and discommended of none for their living.'

'The Queen deceived by her church-[m]en.

Now, lest any man should think that he writeth these things to popish bishops, you are to know that he wrote them unto such as were bishops in the reign of her Majesty, unto bishops professing the Gospel in name, but in deed

The Bishop of London against Protestant bishops.

denying the power thereof (1). And in the next page, line 10, he hath these words against those bishops, and now against himself.

Page 24 [Sig. D iv. vers.]

'Luke 12.'

'Spiritual men should not meddle with policies.'

'But Christ, knowing the bounds of His office, would not meddle with extreme policies, translating of realms, and depriving of true inheritors. No, when He was desired to be arbiter betwixt two brethren, He asked not how the plea stood, but, who made Him an officer? Divines, methinks, should by this example not give themselves too much the bridle, and too large a scope, to meddle (2) with matters of policy, as this is, whereupon dependeth either the welfare or ill-fare of the (3) realm. If these two offices, I mean ecclesiastical and civil, be so jumbled together, as it may be lawful for both parties to meddle in both functions, [t]here (4) D 4 can | be no quiet, nor (5) well ordered commonwealth.'

Mark this well, you that are statesmen. M.

John Aylmer, the Bishop of London's, prophecy.

Thus the reader may see what a pattern of hypocrisy this wicked bishop, since he wrote this book, hath shewed himself to be, in taking upon him, not only that calling which in his own judgment is unlawful, but also in joyning those two offices together, the coupling whereof he confessed to be joined as well with the most vile disorder, as with the dangerous disquietness of the commonwealth. And yet he hath not here left off speaking against bishops. Therefore, as before in the EPISTLE hath been touched, he dealeth more roundly with them (page 103) than before, in these words:

'Advice to the Bishops.'

(1) Elizabeth came to the throne on the death of Mary, Nov. 17th, 1558. Aylmer's *Harborowe* is dated 'Strasborowe the 26 of Aprill,' 1559. Martin's point is therefore of prime importance. Nevertheless he is probably mistaken in making 'Protestant bishops' 'now living' the objective of Aylmer's denunciation. For although Knox's *First Blast* was only published the previous year, and the *Harborowe* must therefore have been written subsequently, still the new bishops were as yet scarcely well in the saddle, and the reference must be chiefly, at least, to the Marian bishops. At the same time it must be borne in mind, apart from the theological change effected under Elizabeth and the repudiation of the Pope's authority, the official powers and claims of the Protestant bishops and of the Roman bishops were the same. Both alike combined the ecclesiastical and civil functions. In the above quotations there are a couple of insignificant variations from the original; 'pomp and pride' are in the reverse order, and after 'hell' instead of 'hys' Martin has 'her.'

(2) Martin omits 'too far.'

(3) Martin omits 'whole.'

(4) Should be 'there.'

(5) Martin omits 'any.'

'Come off, you Bishops, away with your superfluities, yield up your thousands, be content with your hundreds, as they be in other Reformed Churches, where be as great learned men as you are. Let your portion be priestlike, and not princelike. Let the Queen have the rest of your temporalities and other lands to maintain the wars which you procured, and your Mistress left her (and) with the rest to build and found schools throughout the realm; that every parish church may have its (1) preacher, every city its (1) superintendent, to live honestly, and not pompously; which will never be, unless your lands be dispersed and bestowed upon many, which now feedeth and fatteth but one. Remember that Abimelech, when David in his banishment would have dined with him, kept such hospitality, that he had no bread in his house to give him but the shewbread. Where was all his superfluity to keep your pretenced hospitality? For that is the cause you allege, why you must have thousands, as though you were commanded to keep hospitality, rather with a thousand than with a hundred. I would our countryman Wiclif's book which he wrote, *De Ecclesia*, were in print, and there should you see that your wrinches (3) and cavilations be nothing worth' (4).

'Bishop's lands.'

Will you be content, Bishop, it shall be so now? M.

In any case let there be one minister above the rest of his brethren. M. 1 Sam. 21.

And I would mine Epistomastix were in print (2); there should you see that would not like [please] you (5). D 4 vers.

Hitherto, you see that this Balaam, who hath, I fear [me, received the wages of unrighteousness, hath spoken in general, as well against the callings of bishops, and their usurping of civil offices, as against their pride, pomp, and superfluity. Must not he, think you, have either a most seared, or a most guilty conscience, that can find of his heart to continue in that calling; yea, and in the abuse of that calling, which his own conscience, if he would but awake it, telleth him to be unlawful? The Lord give him repentance, if he belongeth unto Him, or speedily rid His Church of a scourge. And may not all the former speeches be fitly applied unto him? Yes (6), without doubt. But the next he may be

(1) *His* in the original.
(2) For *Epistomastix*, see THE EPISTLE, pp. 22, *note* (2), 82.
(3) Wrinches = wrenches; here applied to a twisting or wrenching of a text in argument.
(4) *Harborowe*, Sig. O iv. and vers. This, owing to Aylmer's subsequent career, became the most notorious of all Aylmer's bellicose pages, and was widely quoted against him by his contemporaries. See THE EPISTLE, p. 22.
(5) This note also ought to bear the initial M.
(6) ℳ. Is.

thought to have written to himself, which he hath set down,

Page 34, line 15 [Sig. F 1 vers.].

page 34.

'As if you should say, my lord Lubber of London is a tyrant. Ergo he is no bishop. I warrant you although he granted you the antecedent, which he can hardly deny, yet he would deny the consequent, or else he would call for wily Watson to help him.'

Doth he mean Watson, the pursuivant, trow you? (1) M.

Here, Brother London, you have crossed yourself over the costard, once in your days. I think you would have spent three of the best elms which you have cut down in Fulham, and threepence-halfpenny besides, that I had never met with your book. But unless you and John of Exeter with Thomas Winchester, who have been in times past hypocrites, as you have been, leave off to hinder the Word, and vex godly men, I will make you to be noble and famous bishops for ever. And might not a man well judge you three to be the 'desperate Dicks,' which you, Brother London, page 29, affirm to be good bishops in England. (For to allude unto your own words, pages 28, 29) (2). Whereas other bishops in the land, for the most, (only John Canterbury excepted) lest they should one day answer for their proceedings unto her Majesty, and gain the evil will of the noblemen, and gentlemen that favour the sincerity of the Gospel, will not seem to be such dealers as you three are; though they

John of London, John of Exeter and Thomas Winchester hypocrites.

E 1 serve at an inch | in their place to maintain his Grace's pride and cruelty, to stay the course of the Gospel, and to fetch in men within the compass of subscription, yet are they those, for the most part, that will imprison none, and trouble very few, unless it be for fear that, if they tolerate too much, they should have a check from (3) their worship-

(1) Aylmer had at this time at his command a 'wily Watson' to help him in the person of the pursuivant of that name, who has already appeared in the Tracts—see THE EPISTLE, p. 84, *note* (2); and the present Tract, D, 1 vers. But Aylmer's reference is to Thomas Watson, bishop of Lincoln, one of Stephen Gardiner's most industrious agents in the work of combating and persecuting the reformers.

(2) See Bishop Cooper's *Admonition*, 65 vers.; THE EPISTLE, p. 71, *note* (1), where Cooper's words are quoted, including a reference to this passage. 'Desperate Dicks' is an expression taken from Aylmer's *Harborowe*, Sig. E, 2 vers., E 3; pp. 28, 29, according to Martin's pagination.

(3) M. 'of.'

ful Paltripolitan. But you three, like furious and senseless brute beasts, dread no peril, look no farther than your feet, spare none, but with tooth and nail cry out, 'Down with that side that favoureth the Gospel so! Fetch them up with pursuivants; to the Gatehouse, to the Fleet, to the Marshalsea, to the Clink, to Newgate, to the Counter, with them!' It makes no matter with you (I follow your own words, Brother London) so you may show yourselves (in *show*, though not in *truth*) obedient subjects to the Queen, and disobedient traitors to God and the realm.

Thus far I have followed your words, howbeit I think you are not well pleased with me, because you mean not to stand to anything you have written. Nay, you hold it unlawful now for a preacher, as far as the two tables of the Law do reach, to speak against bishops, much less any ungodly statute. And yet you say (page 49, line 7) that

John of London against bishops, and so, against himself.

'Preachers must not be afraid to rebuke the proudest, yea, kings and queens, so far forth as the two tables of the Law do reach, as we see in Samuel, Nathan, Elias, John Baptist and many other. They may not stoop to every man's beck, and study to please man more than God' (1).

Thus far are your words, and they are as far from your practice, as you are from the imitation of these godly examples which you have brought. I see a bishopric hath cooled your courage; for in those days that you wrote this book, you would have our Parliament to overrule her Majesty, and not to yield an inch unto her of their privileges (2). Your words I will set down.

Page 53, line 19 [Sig. H 3]. E 1 vers.

Parliament are to resist their kings or queens.

'In like manner (say you, page 53) if the Parliament use their privileges, the king can ordain nothing without them; if he do, it is his fault in usurping it, and their folly in permitting it; wherefore, in my judgment, those that in king Henry the Eighth's days would not grant him that his proclamations should have the force of a statute, were good fathers of their country, and worthy of commendation in defending their liberty,' &c.

The Parliament resisted King Henry VIII.

(1) *Harborowe*, Sig. H 1. See above, p. 143, *note* (2), where the complete passage is given.

(2) 'Prileadges' in the original, by a printer's error.

I assure you, Brother John, you have spoken many things worthy the noting, and I would our Parliament-men would mark this action done in king Henry the Eighth's days, and follow it in bringing in reformation, and putting down lord bishops, with all other points of superstition. They may, in your judgment, not only do anything against their king's or queen's mind, that is behooveful to the honour of God and the good of the Commonwealth, but even withstand the proceedings of their sovereign.

Women capable of the ministry in regard to their sex by the Bishop of London's judgment.

But methinks you have a palpable error in the 48th, 49th, and 50th pages of your book (1), which is, that women are incapable of the ministry, not in regard of their sex but of certain wants and imperfections in their sex; viz., their want of learning and courage; so that if a woman should be brought up in learning, and trained in disputations, and were not milder in nature than men (all of which wants in women, you speak, page 48) but knew their quarter-stroke (which knowledge you require in the minister, page 49) then, by your reason, they might preach in your diocese. Whosoever will read your 50th and 51st pages shall find this to be your judgment.

(1) *Harborowe*, Sig. G 4 vers. H 1 and vers. The argument will be clearer from a reference to the passages as they occur in Alymer's pages: 'And not only he [Paul] debarred the women from prophesying: but also from anye publike function in the ecclesiasticall iurisdiction. For in such as shall occupy the pulpit, is required these things, that they be mete to teach, to reproue, and conuince. In teaching is required grauitie, learning, eloquence. In reprouinge courage and founde iudgemente, and in conuincynge Artes, memorye, and much science. And because the bringinge vppe of womenne is commonlye suche as they canne not haue theese thynges (for they bee not broughte vppe in learnynge in Scholes, nor trayned in disputacions. Or if they were yet because nature hath made them softer and milder than menne. Yet bee they not such as are meete for that function).' [Then follows the passage already quoted from sig. H 1; see above, p. 151.]

It is interesting to note a further passage from the *Harborowe* in which Aylmer is doffing his cap to Elizabeth and her reputed scholarship. 'Are there not in Englande women, thynke you, that for their learnynge and wysdome could tell their household and neighbours as good a tale as the best Sir Ihon [clergyman] there? And what if by occasion, not by common office, they shoulde sum tyme make their neighbours partakers of their giftes: were it so heinous a matter? I pray you what more vehemencye vseth Paule in the forbiddynge of women to preache, then in forbydding them to uncover their heads?' [marg ref. 1 Tim. 2, 1 Cor. 11.].—Sig. H 2.

Besides all this, the reader shall find such earthly and carnal stuff in all these pages, that you must needs give this judgment of the whole book—surely flesh, even a lump of mere flesh, writ it. For there you shall see the Englishman preferred before other people, only because he feedeth upon (and hath in his possession) plenty of sheep | oxen, kie (1), E 2 calves (I keep John Elmar's words) conies, fish; and where as other nations feed upon roots, raw herbs, oil, grapes, &c.

Pages 110 and 111 [Sig. P 3 vers. P. 4].

Yea, we have such plenty of calves in England that we have calves to our bishops.

In the last place; against the French King he raileth and outrageth in this wise—

John of London's railing speeches.

'That Turkish Valesius, that French tyrant: Is he a king or a devil? a Christian or a Lucifer? that by his cursed confederacy with the Turk, [&c.].' Page 113, line 4, 'O wicked caitiff and firebrand of hell.' [Sig. Q 1.]

Page 112, line 27 [Sig. P 4, vers.].

And line 8, [Sig. Q 1]

'O foolish Germans, which conspire not, together with the rest of Christian princes, to pull out such a traitor to God and His kingdom by the ears out of France, and hang him against the sun a-drying.'

The discreet reader of that which hath been spoken may apparently see the indiscreet brutishness that was in you even then, when you were best worthy to be accounted of; and thereby may gather what you are now when you have bidden farewell not only unto the sincerity of religion, which then you seemed to embrace, but even to all humanity and civil behaviour. And yet you do not thus leave the French King, but in this page 113, line 13, you say that the devil hath none of his side now but him, to maintain both the spiritual and the temporal antichrist. In the same page [Sig. Q 1.],—

'Wherefore seeing he hath forsaken God, like an apostata, and sold himself to the devil,' &c.

And lines 27, 28,

'Proud Holofernes! O blessed is that man that loseth his life against such a termagant' (2).

(1) *Kie* = cows.
(2) Termagant was formerly a term applied chiefly to men.

Again page 114, line 2 [Sig. Q. 1. vers.]—

But this Julian (1) the Apostata is named a devil's name, 'Christianissimus.' Line 3, 'And, like a traitorous Saracen, is Christ's enemy.'

Here he leaveth the French King, and here I leave his book.

Now I entreat the reader to consider these things, that I have set down out of his book, and judge whether such things as he wrote could proceed from a religious heart, and whether the book be not an offspring proceeding from a lump of earthly flesh. This book is almost all the tokens
E 2 vers. of Christianity that ever he show | ed. Since the time he
John of London's tyranny. became bishop he hath been a continual oppressor of the Church of God. His practices against God and His saints was [*sic*] the only cause why I have taken this pains with his book; and he shall be more beholden unto me, unless he leave his tyranny.

But now alas, alas, Brother Bridges, I had forgotten you all this while. My brother London and I were so busy, that we scarce thought of you. Why could you not put me in mind that you stayed all the while? But it is no matter, we will make the quicker despatch of your business. You shall see I will be the more favourable to you. And let me see how roundly you overturn these Puritans, for you are now to overthrow the several parts of their discipline. Our Brethren say that our Saviour Christ ordained a holy ministry of men, for the building of His church; and prove the saying by the place of Paul, Eph. $4^{11,12}$. Your Mastership [in] three manner of ways show[s] the place they allege to make nothing for their purpose. First, say you, Paul speaketh of diverse functions; therefore nothing of ecclesiastical government. This reason, Brethren [Puritans], is a very sound one; if you should deny it, then indeed I must think you to be not altogether so leaden-headed as your brother Bridges. For, do you think that a man, entreating

(1) 'Julia' in the original.

of the Mayor of London, the two Sheriffs, and their offices, speaketh by and bye of some part of the order and government of the city of London? or of some of the governors of the city? As though my Lord Mayor and the two Sheriffs were now become to be any of the governors of the city of London, or their offices any part of that government. Who seeth not, by this example, the folly of our precise Brethren's reason evidently declared? The apostle, say they, speaketh of apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors, doctors, and their functions (for this Master Doctor confesseth); therefore he speaketh of some ecclesiastical governors, and of some part of ecclesiastical go | vernment. E 3 Apostles, prophets, pastors and doctors are church governors with them, and their office a part of ecclesiastical government. Let them learn, let them learn, simple siginnes (1) as they are, that the Apostle speaketh in this place of 'ecclesiastical functions,' and not of any part of ecclesiastical government. For so Master Doctor in this 61st page (compare line 17 with line 22) teacheth us to speak English, making an ecclesiastical function to be a thing altogether differing in nature, from every part of ecclesiastical government. A very proper and pleasant distinction. In the second place, this testimony brought in by our Brethren is proved to make nothing to their purpose by two reasons. And what 'bomination umbertie of reasons (2) here be, to proceed forth [from] one head, and yet every one [as] false, as it is true that my good brother Overton, the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, sold his chancellorship at one time unto two several men; to wit, to Dr. Beacon, and the good Chancellor, Master

A cozening trick of a bishop.

You see that cozenage is likely, within a while, to b the steward of my Brothe Lichfield's house.

(1) Evidently meaning *simpletons;* we have been unable to trace any satisfactory derivation for the word. It has been suggested that there is possibly a printer's error here and that the spelling in the MS. was *silinnes.* But a plural noun seems naturally to be required by the context.

(2) 'Umbertie,' from *umber,* a dialectic form of *number. Vide umber* (also *imber*) in Halliwell and Wright's Eng. Dialect Dict. The same form was adopted into Welsh. We still find colloquially *wmbreth* or *wmberth* signifying, like 'umbertie,' a multitude.

Zachary Babington (1). Well, Parson Bridges' *first reason* is after this sort. That place which sheweth gifts and

(1) Passing reference has already been made to Bishop Overton in THE EPISTLE, p. 90, where Martin dubs him a dunce, and his ignorance is again referred to in HAY ANY WORKE, p. 320. But there were more serious and well-attested facts which made Overton a notorious figure, even among the worldly bishops of Elizabeth's reign. He started his clerical career as a scandalous pluralist; indeed, before he was actually ordained he was made (1559) a canon of Winchester. He took orders in 1560, and in the space of ten years managed to augment his ecclesiastical plunder by five rectories, two canonries, and a cathedral treasureship. But unprincipled pluralism is a hunger which grows by being fed; so we find Overton, in 1579, riding post from Chichester to London. He had suddenly heard that the rich archdeaconry of Lewes was vacant and had come to sue for it at the hands of the Queen. He had however been forestalled by Drant, also a prebend of Chichester, who had ridden to town that same morning, but earlier. The result was a violent feud between the two men. Overton obtained the bishopric of Lichfield through the efforts of Dr. Becon, who had considerable influence with the Earl of Leicester. In return he promises to advance the interests of Becon. Writing to Mrs. Becon, Overton says 'if it shall so fall out by his [Dr. Becon's] mediation I be hereafter p[re]ferred to some good Bishopricke . . . I pray you to let me be a suetor to him and to you that we may be togither and live togither . . . that we may have mutual joy and comfort together like dear brethren and sisters: and I promise unto you before the eternal God I have not nor shal have any thing to[o] dear for him and you wether in Spiritualities or Temporalities to do you good and yours' (S. P. Dom. Eliz. cxxxvij. 31; quoted by F. O. White). Her husband so far benefited by the Bishop's elevation that he was appointed to the chancellorship. But the Bishop, pluralist though he was, and notwithstanding that the Queen granted him three half-years' subsidies to furnish his estate, and that there were other moneys coming to him; having also two rich rectories—Stoke on Trent, and Hanbury in Staffordshire—*in commendam,* was always impecunious. He therefore gave, for a consideration, to his son-in-law, Zachary Babington, a graceless person by all accounts, a presentation to the same office, both Becon and he to hold *conjunctivim et divisim,* with sole occupancy to the survivor. Before long Overton, cancelling the previous presentations, made his son-in-law sole chancellor, with endless law-suits following. He endeavoured to raise money by exacting a toll of 'twelve pence in the pound,' which he called a *subsidium charitativum,* and claimed by precedent. The poorer clergy, by cajolery and intimidation, paid; not so the cathedral chapter, headed by the resolute Dean Boleyn, a 'hasty man,' one who once threatened 'to nail' the Dean of Canterbury 'to the wall with his sword,' and not in the least intimidated by Overton. (See THE PROTESTATYON, p. 417). The Bishop threatened a writ *De Scandalis Magnatum,* only to find that the actions would not lie. He later tried to blackmail two aged canons by conventing them before the High Commission in the depth of winter, when a phenomenal fall of snow lay on the ground, unless they agreed each of them to lend him a hundred pounds for a year or two. In the litigation which followed it was alleged that he had granted to a son-in-law named Plasted 'several leases of most of his lands, besides offices, annuities, and they [the Dean and Chapter] knew not what.' His quarrel with Becon became very bitter; the Bishop, prompted by his wife, calling Mrs. Becon by a most calumnious name, and Becon retorting by calling the Bishop 'beastly knave,' 'horson knave,' 'perjured man,' 'simoniacal

functions to be ordained in the Church, to the building up of the body of Christ, in the unity of the faith and knowledge, maketh nothing to prove that there is an ecclesiastical government prescribed in the Word. Thou sayest even true, Parson John. For what hath the functions of pastors, doctors, apostles, &c. to do with church government? A pretty matter! Every beggarly apostle, pastor, doctor or evangelist that cannot spend, no, I am sure, not forty marks yearly, by all the spiritual living he hath in his hand, must now be a church governor with our Brethren, and their offices be a part of church government. Why Brethren, what mean you by this place you have brought? Do you think that the Apostle by those functions and those persons spoken of (Ephes. 4^{12}) meaneth that any of the (1) functions should be a *lordlike function*, or any | of the persons, *lord*? E 3 vers. You say he doth not. No—doth not? Then of your own grant (2) he speaketh nothing of ecclesiastical government and governors. Because every ecclesiastical governor must needs be a lord, and so, ecclesiastical government a lordly government. If this be not true, ask my Brother Bridges. For should God ordain great men and great lords to be rulers in commonwealths, over whom He hath not so great a care as He hath for His Church, and ordain none but beggarly fellows, not able to spend two hundred marks by the year, nay, nor twenty neither, to bear rule in His Church?

Of ecclesiastical governmen and governor

bishop,' and so forth, besides pursuing him with actions on all possible grounds before the various legal tribunals. He was accused before the Queen of illegally ordaining men who were utterly unworthy of the ministerial office. Elizabeth received the Archbishop and several of the bishops at Somerset House when they presented to her their subsidy. She then complained that some of them were accused of 'making Ministers whereof some be of such corrupt life and lewd behaviour whereof we know of some such that be not worthy to come into any honest company?' Some of the bishops present denied the accusation so far as they were concerned, and Burghley said it was the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry who had 'made lxx Ministers in one day for Money, some Taylors, some shoemakers and others Craftsmen," adding 'I am sure the greatest part of them are not worthy to keep horses.'—S. P. Dom. Eliz. (1585) clxxvj. 69. See also White's *Eliz. Bishops*, 271—276. Strype's *Annals*, Vol. III., part I., 136, *Grindal*, 404—410, *Whitgift* I. 199—213.

(1) ℳt. 'them.'

(2) *I.e.*, 'your own admission.'

I grant, indeed, that you Brethren, Puritans, say the truth as it ought to be, that bishops or ministers ought not to be lords in any wise, either as ministers, or as civil magistrates. Thus, indeed, it ought to be, I and my Brethren, the Bishops, do grant unto you. And you know we would it were so. But you know, also, that our laws will have church governors to be lords; and what, should our bishops (good, noble men) refuse that which the law would have them to take? Get you the law to be against their lordly callings, and see whether they will not give over their lord-bishopdoms, whensover law compelleth them. And whensoever they give over they shall have no cause to thank such envious brethren as you are. Howsoever it be, you see the Apostle, speaking of all sorts of ministers, by your own confession, speaketh nothing of any lord, or lordly government among them all; and, therefore, speaketh nothing of church government. Again, all those functions, whereof the Apostle maketh any mention (as my Brother Bridges hath well noted) are ordained to the building of the body of Christ, in the unity of faith and knowledge. Now, I would any Puritan of you all durst say that our church governors, that is, our venerable and worshipful lord bishops, are ordained of God for the building
E 4 of His body; which I know | you will say to be done by preaching. As though lord bishops, being civil governors, should preach! Were it meet, I pray you, to see Stephen Gardiner, being then of the Privy Council, in the pulpit? Councillors now must have something to do with pulpit matters—must they, I pray you? Will you allow that civil governors should be ordinary preachers in your new platform of a Reformed Church? I know you will not. And what reason is it then, that you should require bishops to be ordinary preachers, seeing every bishop is a civil governor? I tell you true, I am so far from thinking that bishops ought to be ordinary (1) preachers, seeing they are civil governors, that I hold it to be a sin for them to preach

(1) That is, by order or regular appointment.

ordinarily. And, Brethren, you do not well, therefore, in urging civil governors to preach, especially seeing you yourselves, in your platforms, are against this point. And, because it shall be seen that I deal uprightly between you and the P. P. (1) prelates, I will set down my reason; and answer it when you can. It shall be concluded, I warrant you, in mood and figure. But, indeed, I have invented a new mood of mine own (for I have been a great schoolman in my days) which containeth in it a great mystery. The mystery I will expound, it may be, in a book for the purpose. In the meantime if you resort to my son, Martin Senior, that worthy wight, he it may be, shall be able to unfold the secrecy thereof. This is the syllogism; the mood answereth unto 'Celarent,' (2) elder daughter to 'Barbara,' and I will have it called 'Pernecanterburikenolde' *A syllogism concluded in Pernecanterburikenold.*

Perne	No civil magistrate can be an ordinary preacher without sin.	Ce-
Canterbury	Every lord bishop is a civil magistrate. Therefore,	la-
Kenold (3)	No lord bishop can be an ordinary preacher without sin.	rent

| What say you now, Brethren, would you have civil governors, such as our bishops are, to preach? I hope not. For although I cannot deny but some of our bishops are very great break-pulpits, and have as marvellous raw gifts in preaching as any that ever came to Paul's Wharf (4), yet surely I cannot see what warrant you have to urge civil E 4 vers.

(1) P. P. = Pretty Popish; or Paltri-Politan, *vide ante*, (M. E i. vers.), f. 59.

(2) It perhaps is unnecessary to point out that Barbara, Celarent, are two of the mnemonic words whose vowels are used in formal logic to represent the various 'moods' in syllogistic reasoning, which Martin here humorously imitates.

(3) Perne, the Archbishop's familiar, is the often-mentioned 'old turner'; but there were 'other notable turncoats as expert as Whitgift's Master Doctor Pearne,' and among them is named the otherwise obscure 'Doctor Kennolde.'—*A Dialogue wherein is Plainly laide open*, sig. D iij.

(4) The Thames-side wharf immediately below St. Paul's, where preachers travelling by river would land to reach the cathedral.

officers to preach. Wherefore also you do not well in crying out against civil governors, because they preach not; as though their function were an ecclesiastical function, or as though you would have any to preach who had not an ecclesiastical function. If you demand, then, whether bishops be ecclesiastical or civil governors, they themselves say, both; and I say, brethren, that for the stopping of your mouths and other causes, I would counsel them, if they would be ruled by me, to be neither nother. Now, if you demand again, whether bishops sin in being ministers, seeing they are civil officers; or in bearing civil offices, seeing they are ministers; I have already showed that civil officers must be no ministers. And my Brother London hath long since affirmed it to be dangerous for the Commonwealth that ministers should be civil governors; and therefore, Brethren, to answer this question of yours, you are to know that I am fully of your Brother London's mind, who saith, page 24, line 19 of his *Harborowe*, [if]

No good order where ministers are civil magistrates, saith John London.

'these two offices, I mean the ecclesiastical and civil, be so jumbled together, as it may be lawful for both parties to meddle in both functions, there can be no quiet, nor any well-ordered commonwealth.' [Sig. D, 4 vers.]

Now, Brethren, you must not think the worse of this learned man's judgment, because he is a bishop himself; for even since he hath joined these two offices together, he hath proved his own saying to be true for his part, in that his whole endeavour hath been, ever since he was bishop, that we should have no quiet, nor any well-ordered Church, or Commonwealth. I hope by this time you see
F 1 it | plain that bishops sin, both because they are civil governors, and, being civil governors, because they are bishops.

Your *second reason* (1) is (page 61, line 39): 'Paul speaketh of these gifts and of this building, and of the orders and

(1) The *first reason* is given *ante*, p. 156.

ends thereof'; therefore he speaketh nothing of ecclesiastical government.

This is put home, I trow, and overthroweth the Puritans out of all cess (1). It is altogether as good a reason as an old man yielded sometime to Sir Thomas More, concerning the cause of Goodwin Sands and the stopping of Sandwich Haven; which was, that Tenterden Steeple (2) was the cause of Goodwin Sands. Mr. Doctor's second reason, to show that the place of Paul maketh nothing for ecclesiastical government is after this sort.

'Paul in reckoning up these gifts, referreth all to the unity in doctrine of faith, and to the holy conversation (3) of life.' 'Ergo, he maketh no mention of ecclesiastical order of government' (4).

That were a pitiful hearing, indeed, Sir, that the Apostle should speak of ecclesiastical government, and speak not a word of any lordlike government; that the Apostle should make any mention of ecclesiastical governors, and not name a lord among them all. Fie, fie, this were too bad, and my Lord of Canterbury would never abide such Scripture.

But in good sadness, saith the Puritans, Presbyter John Bridges, will this place of Paul prove no part of this government which you oppugn? Will it not prove that God hath ordained pastors, and doctors, to continue in His church unto the world's end? No, forsooth, will it not, quoth the Dean; and I am so far from thinking that God hath ordained your preaching pastors and doctors to continue always in His church, that I have made a prayer, page 655, line 28 of my book (as my brother Martin, you know, hath

Dean John's prayer against the preaching of the Word.

(1) Immoderately. Cess = measure, estimation. (Halliwell, quoting this place.)
(2) *Al.* 'Tenterton's steeple.'
(3) Conversation = conduct.
(4) This is the conclusion of the sentence quoted at the beginning of the present paragraph. After the word 'life' Bridges continues his sentence with the words 'and not to the externall orders of the churches ecclesiastical gouernement.'

(*a*) In the 'Epistle to the terrible priests' (1). F 1 vers.

noted already (*a*)), that we might never see that day in England, wherein preaching might be had in | all places.

His Grace of Canterbury, I tell you, hath condemned the preaching of the Word (as being the only ordinary means to Salvation) to be an heresy (2). This Scripture of Paul, that God hath appointed preaching pastors to continue in His church unto the world's end, is a chief ground of the former heresy. I will allow of no such Scripture, I trow, as may impeach the opinion which my Lord of Canterbury conceived of the preaching of the Word.

You see therefore, my Friends, that Master Dean in this point will have nothing to do with you, or Paul's testimony. And you are not ignorant, I am sure, how soon all lords will be out of the ministry, if we had none in England but the pastors spoken of by Paul; and therefore Master Doctor hath prayed against this order. Yea, and he hath brought such a reason against this, your platform of government, as is just *secundum usum Sarum* (3). For, indeed, it is Popish, and therefore you might smell it afar off.

Dean John cozeneth his brethren with Popish reasons.

'If the Lord (saith he, page 62) (4) had thought this government needful for His Church, then He would not have suffered His Church to be without the same. But He suffered His Church of a long time to be without this government. Ergo, He thought it not needful.'

Ah, craft, craft; craft and subtilty, that can in jest deceive his brethren with a Popish reason in this sort. But, my Masters, you must not think that our Brother Sarum bringeth this in good earnest, but only to try whether you be so simple, as you cannot know a Popish

(1) *Vide ante*, THE EPISTLE, p. 36.

(2) See the charge, and Whitgift's repudiation, THE EPISTLE, p. 66, *note* (1).

(3) At a time when liturgical services were being warmly and constantly discussed, the fact that at Salisbury they had an ancient order of their own, made the phrase 'according to the use of Salisbury' very familiar to men. The above, says Martin, is simply another application of the term by the Dean of Salisbury.

(4) This is a summary of Bridges' statement given chiefly in his words.

reason when you see it. And to this purpose, I think that both his Worship and John Whitgift's Grace, have brought in their writings many things that are palpable Popish; that they might try, whether of knowledge, or of peevish and choleric rashness, you speak against their government. Now, if so be, that you could not discern their Popish reasons (whereof indeed you shall find great store; every third reason I warrant you, in all their books) | then they would have this advantage against you, that F 2
you were not able to know truth from Popery. For, might they say, we brought in Popish reasons of purpose; but, silly fellows, their skill is so small in all kind of learning, that they cannot know a Popish reason, especially if we can face it out with a brag that we have old and new writers of our side. Now, Brethren, you must not then mislike your Brother Bridges' purpose in bringing in this Popish syllogism. This I speak to the end you should not cry out, as some of you have done, that our bishops have no better warrant for themselves than the Pope hath, for their government (1). I grant indeed, that if you should take Master Dean at the worst, you might say that he might herein reason as well for the Mass as he doth for the established government. As, for example, he might thus argue: If the Lord had thought the Mass to have been a false worship of Him, then He would not have suffered it so long to have continued, where any weak one should be endangered of being enforced to be present thereat. But He suffered it to continue a long time, &c. Therefore, He thought it not to be a false worship. I say you must not mistake Master Doctor in this sort; but know that he dealt after the manner of the schools, wherein it is lawful (as Thomas Cartwright, who hath been Professor of Divinity both in Cambridge and in Geneva, knoweth well enough) for men to argue *pro* and *contra*, as well with, as

The Bishops have no better warrant for themselves than the Pope.

(1) The meaning is obvious, though the sentence is badly constructed; as if, judging by a common experience, an alteration in the sentence had not been consistently carried out.

against, the truth; and all is to try out the truth, which is [the] only [and] the sole meaning that Master Doctor hath not at all thought of. But, I pray you, let us pass from hence unto the 64th page, where you shall find the calling of an archbishop most notably proved out of our Brethren's own words.

'Our Brethren (quoth (1) the Cloister-master of Sarum) affirm that Paul and Barnabas ordained presbyters, priests or elders (for thus Master Doctor, to his neverlasting fame, hath full often in his book translated the | Greek word *presbuteros*) at Derbe, Iconium and Lystra. Ergo, some of these priests or elders were ordained over whole towns, some over regions.' (2).

F 2 vers.

Titus neither Archbishop nor yet Dean of Sarum.

But truly I think Brother Bridges that Titus was neither Archbishop nor Dean of Sarum.

And what could be more aptly spoken to the purpose, or more fitly prove an archiepiscopal calling? But the reason following proveth it yet more evident, and that is the illsample of Archbishop Titus, whom the Doctor of Divility in this 65th page affirmeth to have been Archbishop of Crete. Nay, good Master Doctor, not many archbishops in the person of Titus, I pray you. Titus was an evangelist, therefore no archbishop. Yea, saith he, Titus was a very archbishop, and there is plain Scripture to prove it, which is the *subscription* of the Epistle to Titus (3).

The reason of Archbishop Titus is no Popish reason.

'Wo-up (4), Papist!' say the Puritans, 'is that become Scripture with you? Why Master Beza hath long since proved this to be no Scripture, but an "uncertain and false guess added by some scholiast." You know that your brother Turrian, the Jesuit, bringing in this for Scripture was soundly confuted by Master Sadel; and dare you, Dean John, bring this in for Scripture?' 'Yes, that I dare,' saith he, 'and prove Titus to have been an archbishop even

(1) ℳ. 'ka.'

(2) This is a summary of Bridges' argument.

(3) The interpolated subscription to the *Epistle to Titus* states that 'it was written to Titus ordained the first Bishop of the Cretians.' It has always been left to 'reformers of religion' to fight the battle of a purified text. Hooker is as innocent of critical learning as Bridges, and finds authority for the apostolico-episcopal power of Titus and Timothy in 'those subscriptions which are set after the epistle to Titus and to the second to Timothy.'—*Works*, Oxford, 1850, vol. ij., 338 and note.

(4) ℳ. whope. *Vide* HAY ANY WORKE, p. 257, *note* (1).

by this reason: because Paul gave him the authority to be the ordinary (1) of all the bishops in Crete. And this I prove, because Crete, where my Lord Archbishop Titus's Grace was Primate and Paltripolitan, had many famous cities in it. This is my very reason (page 65, line 61) and I'll stand to it.' (2).

Now, Masters Vicars, Parsons and Curates, if ever I heard better proof in my life, I would all dumb dogs were whipped out of the Church. Now, truly, this is sport alone. But Brother Parson Bridges, I pray you, tell me, was there canonical obedience sworn to Archbishop Titus? (What else, man?) Did they call him 'My Lord's Grace' too? (Do you doubt of it?) Did his Gentleman Usher go bareheaded before him? (As though he could not be as popelike and pontifical as My Lord of Canterbury!) But, I | hope a poor F 3
hedge-priest might have his Letters of Orders of him, though he would give no bribes unto his secretary, cook, butler, &c. Might he so, Goodman Noddy (3)? Then how

(1) That is the ordainer, the person to confer 'orders.'

(2) The argument of Bridges referred to here and elsewhere by Martin, and scattered somewhat loosely over pp. 64-66 of the *Defence*, is as follows:—

α. Paul and Barnabas ordained elders by *election* (Acts 14^{23}). Other cases, however, have to be consulted.

β. Paul instructed Titus to visit Crete and there ordain elders (Titus 1^{5}).

γ. These elders are called Bishops in the same chapter.

δ. Paul 'gives to Titus the authority and jurisdiction to be their ordinarie or the ordeiner of them, in their Episcopall or presbyterall office.'—*Defence*, p. 65, ll. 15 f.

ε. There is no mention in these instances of any other election to the office.

ζ. It belongs to the episcopal office to 'redress and ordain,' and these functions Titus was to exercise in all the cities of Crete—and they were many and famous at this time.

η. Yet for want of particulars no absolute form of Ecclesiastical Government can be inferred.

θ. But there is here 'manifest *jurisdiction Episcopall*, yea *Archiepiscopall*, not onlie ouer *Pastors* and *Teachers*, being *elders in euerie particular church:* but also ouer *Bishops* hauing *authoritie* ouer whole *cities*.' (*Ibid.*, p. 65, ll. 29 ff.)

ι. Therefore Titus was 'aboue them all, through-out ye whole *Ile* as a *Regionall* or *Prouinciall Bishop*, which we usuallie call by the auncient terme, *Metropolitane* or *Archbishop*.' (*Ibid.*, ll. 23 ff.)

(3) A somewhat good-humoured way of calling a man a simpleton. The offence here is in its familiarity.

should his men, I pray you, be able to live? As though bishops should give their men any wages? Their blessing, I trow, will serve their men instead of wages (1).

The bishops' horses work miracles.

In page 66, (2) Master Doctor demandeth a question, and that is, whether one man might have divers of these offices and gifts which were in the Apostles' time. Indeed, Brother Parson, we read of never an apostle that was a non-resident but of one Judas, of one Simon Magus, and one Diotrephes, in all that time. The reason, belike, was that men wrought miracles in those days; which gift the noble lords of the clergy have now bestowed upon their horses. For in the Apostles' time a horse usually carried not above one or two men at the most; whereas, you know, that Master Doctor Humphrey and Doctor Matthew (3) had two horses between them, that never carried under fourteen men, whensoever their masters were on their backs. And our bishops are so expert in adorning horses with those miraculous gifts, that they are no sooner on their horsebacks, than presently the horse, whereon they ride, is able to carry as many as either of the two former; besides their boots, two or three pair of trulling (4), square dice, and so many pair of cards.

Also many simoniacal promotions.

Parson Bridges (page 68) saith, there are more gifts and callings than four—pastors, doctors, elders, and deacons—remaining; because, saith he, (page 69) (5)—

'the gifts of doing miracles, prophecy, the gifts of healing divers among the Papists do enjoy; and, especially, the gift of

(1) See the story of Aylmer giving the executors of Geo. Allen his blessing instead of paying his debt to them, THE EPISTLE, p. 76.

(2) 'Page 66' represents a double error. In the original it is 76; but the types had been accidentally reversed. The correct pagination should be 67.

(3) Presumably Dr. Laurence Humphrey and Dr. Tobias Matthew, both pluralists certainly; but that was common enough. Humphrey was more noted for his refusal to wear the vestments. Matthew, who was reputed to be an excellent and assiduous preacher, became Archbishop of York. Martin's fourteen men are the fourteen separate pieces of preferment which these two enjoyed between them.

(4) Martin calls the dice 'trulling,' because they are thrown; to trull or to troll = to trundle.

(5) Martin quotes this sentence fully in THE EPISTLE, p. 37, where he discusses, not, as here, Bridges' opinions, but his vague and indefinite style.

tongues, not attained unto by study, had divers of them, as Anthony,' &c.

Anthony, among the Papists, had the gift of tongues without study? Now what a goodyear (1) was that Anthony! The 'god of the pigs,' trow ye? Indeed, Master Doctor quoteth no author for his warrant. He is read you | know F 3 vers. in the Legend of Lies (2). There it is—what have the Puritans to do *where* he found it? Let them answer to it. What if he found it in Hodge's breeches, seeking for Gammer Gurton's needle? (*a*) Is the reason worse than the rest of his book, because it is without authority?

Mr. Doctor found Anthony in Hodge's breeches.

As for the matter contained in the 70th, 71st, and 72nd pages, Master Doctor confirmeth it by the authority of the Puritan writer who wrote (as he saith), *A Fruitful Sermon*, upon 1 Cor. 12; printed by Robert Waldegrave, 1584 (4).

(*a*) There is a book of this name, which Master Doctor made, as they say (3).

(1) Said to be from the French name of an evil disease, though used at this time, in all probability, without any consciousness of its derivation.

(2) Petheram is entirely astray in identifying this expression as a Puritan name either for *Gammer Gurton's Needle* or for dramatic literature generally. Bridges in his *Defence* has a passing reference to the 'Legende aure,' that is the *Legenda Aurea*. This was his curious authority for the view, in contradiction to the opinion of Cartwright, that miracles are not restricted to the age of the Apostles. (See *note* (5), p. 166.) The original title of the work referred to was *The Lives of the Saints*. It consists of a medley of monkish tales about the saints of the Roman Calendar, which, despite their pious intention, read to-day like chapters from the adventures of the redoubtable Baron Munchausen. Compiled by Jacob de Voragine (who died Archbishop of Genoa), it had an extraordinary popularity in the Middle Ages, translations of it into the chief European languages quickly appearing. It was turned into English by Caxton, and had its title altered into *Legenda Aurea*, so it is said, by his successor, Wynken de Worde. A black letter edition of 1527, which was consulted, does not contain the popular story about the saint preaching to the pigs, but the printer adds a hint on his own account. The pictured initial letter at the opening of the chapter represents Anthony conventionally attired in ample garments, a halo around his head, an open book in one hand, in the background a church, and in the foreground a pig! There is a direct reference to the 'legende aure' in THE PROTESTATYON, p. 413. John Fox, explaining a monkish reference to 'the church story' as an authority, has this footnote: 'By this church story he meaneth belike *Legenda Aurea*, otherwise called *The Legend of Lies*.'—*Acts & Mon.*, IV., 629.

(3) For the rumour that Bridges was the author of *Gammer Gurton's Needle*—the needle which was found at last in Hodge's breeches—see THE EPISTLE, p. 33, and the note there discussing the authorship. There is an allusion to the matter earlier in THE EPITOME, p. 140.

(4) Printed without author's name. Dexter (*Bibliography*) conjec-

A Sermon upon 1 Cor. 12, printed by Robert Waldegrave? say our brethren. Why, there was never any sermon upon that text printed by Robert Waldegrave. Master Doctor, belike, meaneth the sermon upon Romans 12. Tush, Brethren! What should you tell us of Master Doctor's meaning. He meaneth the *Sermon upon* 1 *Cor.* 12. If you do not believe me, look [at] the 255th page of his book, and there you shall see the *Sermon upon* 1 *Cor.* 12, twice cited. Master Doctor, if he were more beetle (1)-headed than he is, could not possibly (2) miss so often in the naming of the Sermon upon Romans 12, which is so commonly known. It may be, indeed, you never saw any sermon extant upon that text; but, I warrant you, Dean John knoweth the way to Salisbury; so do not many thousands of you Puritans. Why, you never saw the Syriac Testament translated by Junius (for that which is abroad was done by Tremelius alone), but Master Doctor hath quoted Junius' *Syriac Testament.* Why, then, may he not as well find a sermon upon 1 Cor. 12, printed by Robert Waldegrave, as a Syriac Testament of Junius' translation? Now, say the Puritans, what a notorious block is this Dean, who, inasmuch as he hath heard that Master Tremelius and Master Junius were joined together in the translation of the Bible, thinketh therefore that Junius translated the Syriac Testament, which was done by Tremelius only.

For shame, my Masters; deal more charitably, and bear
F 4 | with the infirmities of your brethren [the Bishops]. I grant, indeed, it was Master Doctor's oversight, in naming Junius' Syriac Testament, and the Sermon on 1 Cor. 12, instead of Rom. 12. But, what then? Should you therefore take him up for it, as though he were the veriest ass in the country? Learned men may easily commit such oversights; especially quoting authors upon other men's reports, as Master Doctor had done. But it is

tures that it was written by Dr. L. Chadderton, the first master of Emmanuel College, Cambridge; but this seems very doubtful.

(1) Beetle = a large wooden mallet.

(2) ſſ. possible.

no marvel that you deal thus with Master Dean, when you dare abuse Antichrist and say, as the author of the *Learned Discourse* hath done, that this [Puritan] government of yours continued in the Church, until Antichrist brought in all kind of false doctrine and confusion. Nay, Wo there, Masters mine! quoth Mr. Dean; for these be his own words (1); take my reason with you, you slander Antichrist. For,

For Antichrist, and against the government of Christ.

Master Doctor's reason, in defence of antichrist against Christ's government.

'If your government had continued in the Church, until all kind of false doctrine came in, it had been exercised without interruption until this day' (especially until the year 1587, wherein you made this book). 'For I doubt me whether all kind of false doctrine have yet been sown. But your government hath been interrupted long since. Therefore you slander Antichrist' (2).

This is the Doctor's reason in very deed.

They slander him, indeed, John O'Sarum, if they say that he brought in all kind of false doctrine. And you have never proved proposition better in your life than you have proved this. For any man that will read your book will say that Antichrist brought not in all kind of false doctrine; if he had, your book I am sure had not been sold for seven shillings; as it is. In the 78th page, Master Doctor sheweth that the office of archbishops, and lord bishops are in nature pastoral, though in dignity they are of another office and ministry (3). And what say you to that, Brethren? Even this, say they. In dignity they are popes; in office, proud prelates; and in ministry, plain dumb dogs, for the most part. This is proved, hath | been proved, and will be proved, to the proudest of the bishops' teeth, if they do dispute with us in these points. I would wish you, my Puritan Masters, to keep you well, while you are well. It may be you shall answer this sauciness of

Lord bishops in dignity popes; in office, proud prelates; &c. F 4 vers.

(1) Dean Bridges' *Defence*, 76. See HAY ANY WORKE, p. 257, *note* (1).
(2) This is not a verbatim quotation.
(3) Bridges' exact words are, 'Euerie *Bishoppe* or *Archbishoppe is in his office and kinde of ministerie a pastor and teacher*, ... Sithe hee is their *ordaynor* or ordinarie . . . he is in dignitie of an *other office and kind of ministerie*.'—*Defence*, p. 78.

yours, to offer disputation to my Lord's Grace before the High Commissioners. Master Doctor hath confuted all the pack of you. In the 82nd page, by a tale or two of a Fox-tail; and another of the Ass laden with sponges, page 83 (1). From the 90th page to the end of the book, he goeth so readily to work about the office of the civil magistrate, that I marvel that men will not say that he deserveth to be cased in a good, motley cloak-bag for his labour. In the 93rd page, he proveth that no man ought to direct the magistrate in anything. For, saith he, Brethren, I go plainly and simply to work; he that directeth, he governeth. Alas the day, Brother Cloister-Master! Do the Puritans say, indeed, that the magistrate should be directed by any within his own dominions? Belike, then, if they should find a magistrate out of his way, they would go about to direct him, would they? And that in his own dominions? Why, Brother Bridges, can this stand with the duty of a good subject? Why,—'he that directeth, *he* governeth.' I perceive it is time that such fellows were looked unto. We should never have done with them, I perceive, if we should still stand answering their absurd fancies. By this time, I hope, they see their folly. They have been sufficiently confuted, or else let Andrew Ambo judge between you; he is an indifferent (2) man. From the 99th page unto the 130th, just 31 pages, (at which game o' the cards Dr. Redman, Archdeacon of Canterbury is very good, besides his rare skill in juggling (3)) and to the end of this book, they agree with you in anything that lawfully belongeth to the office of the city magistrate.

'Simply!' I'll be sworn thou goest 'simply' to work.

Doctor Perne.

(1) The story of the 'Ass laden with Sponges' is given not upon p. 83, but upon page 86. Seeing its fellow-ass settling upon its haunches in the river and getting rid of its load of salt, which quickly melted away, the sponge-laden ass did the same, only so to increase its burden as to be drowned. And Bridges' moral is, '*Non omnia conueniunt omnibus.* Experience is not always good vppon examples. *Legibus non exemplis indicatur.*'

(2) Impartial.

(3) There would appear to be some reference in the number of pages to a game of cards. Redman figures in the cases which came before

How say you now, Master Country Parsons and Vicars? Are you not, by this time, able to withstand the cavils of the | Puritans? Do you not see upon what good ground our G 1
church government and my Lord of Canterbury's chair is built? I would you did, else. And let the learned reader judge whether other men cannot play the ignorant sots as well as you, Brother Bridges. Tush, tush! I would not have you claim all the skill in barbarisms and solecisms unto yourself. Other men can behave themselves with commendations that way as well as you; though, indeed, not so naturally, I grant. Farewell, sweet Doctor! And make much of the courtier, Martin.

All beetle-headed ignorance lieth in Master Doctor.

the High Commission, and especially in the celebrated case of Cawdry. He was made Bishop of Norwich in 1595.

Errata, or Faults Escaped.

1. Wheresoever the Prelates are called My Lords, either in the *Epistle to the Convocation House*, or in this *Epitome*, take that for fault. Because they are none of Master Martin's lords, neither shall any priest of them all be *my* Lord. For I tell thee true, I think foul scorn they should be 'My Lords,' or the lords of any of my sons.

2. There is nothing spoken at all of that hypocrite Scambler, Bishop of Norwich. Take it for a great fault; but unless he leave his close dealing against the truth, I'll bestow a whole book on (1) him; and let the rest of you hypocrites take heed of persecuting.

3. But the greatest fault of all is that [which] I could say of our ungodly priests [yet have not said]; but unless they mend I shall (2) fully amend this fault; and I can do it with a small warning. And I would advise them not to persecute men for my Worship's book, as they do.

(1) M. of.
(2) M. ise.

125.174

III. MINERALL AND METAPHYSICALL SCHOOLPOINTS

Briefly referred to by contemporaries as ' Mineralls '

(A Broadside)

Printed at the White Friars, Coventry, the residence of John Hales, *circa* March 20, 1589

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

THE MINERALLS, the brief contemporary title by which this Tract was known, is a broadside and exists in the unique copy at the Archbishop's Library at Lambeth. The special efforts made to extirpate all the Marprelate writings, added to the common risks of destruction operating for three centuries, sufficiently explain their rarity. But a broadside had far less chances of surviving than an ordinary pamphlet. We can therefore scarcely hope to hear of the discovery of a second copy.

The Marprelate press was removed from Fawsley House early in 1589. It first lay at an empty farmhouse at Norton by Daventry, and later was removed to the White Friars, the house of John Hales, at Coventry. Hales was a connection of Sir Richard Knightley's, who had married his aunt. It was that circumstance which induced him to harbour the secret press, so he told the judges at his trial. Robert Waldegrave continued his services as the printer, taking with him the black letter type which he used exclusively for the Marprelate Tracts printed by him. Penry's own tracts printed by Waldegrave at Coventry are in Roman type.

THE MINERALLS appeared about the 20th of February, 1589. During the first fortnight of the year the official reply of the Bishops to the first Marprelate Tract, THE EPISTLE, containing also a single reference to the second Tract, THE EPITOME, was published, under the title of *An Admonition to the People of England*, bearing the initials T. C., to which some reference is made in the Introductory Note to the next Tract, at the close of the epistle 'To the Reader.' The initials are omitted from Arber's reprint.

The principal work of the Marprelate press at Coventry was to print a reply to the Bishops' *Admonition*. Meanwhile, to keep the public interest well in hand, while the larger Tract was being set up, the 'MINERALL AND METAPHISICALL SCHOOLPOINTS' was hastily written and printed. It was 'a pretty thing to be set out before the other Bookes,' Penry declared, according to the evidence of Henry Sharpe, the Northampton bookbinder.

Sharpe had been shown by Penry the 'copy' of the broadside before it was printed. When he saw the printed copy he thought there were references to Dr. Some which he did not remember to have heard when the manuscript was read to him. And, as Penry was at the time engaged in a controversy with Some, Sharpe concluded that Penry wrote THE MINERALLS. The reference is to §§ 16, 25, which state as the ground of their proposed 'school points' Some's view of baptism which he urged in his controversy with Penry. But Sharpe's observations are too vague and uncertain to be of value as evidence of authorship.

In regard to authorship one point is not to be overlooked. School-point 35 would suggest that the writer defended the Queen in bestowing bishops' livings upon laymen. But the real Martin was undoubtedly against all alienation of church property to laymen—see the references given in a note to § 35; also the definite and grave views upon the question expressed in THE PROTESTATYON (p. 407). But it is just possible that the Bishop of Winchester is called upon to defend against all comers the view, that the Queen cannot lawfully 'bestow the bishops' livings upon laymen,' not because Martin disagreed with the Bishop, but because he thought it allowable tactics, in such an unequal contest, to create mischief between the Queen and the Bishops.

The text in the original broadside is arranged in two paragraphs, which extend across its width; the thirty-seven School-points being placed between them in a double column. The printed surface measures $12\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{3}{8}$ inches. The copies were distributed by Humfrey Newman, who

took the bulk 'towards London,' leaving fifty copies for Sharpe's benefit at Northampton. There are several very early lists which name six out of the seven Marprelate Tracts, the omission being THE MINERALLS. But there are many contemporary references to the broadside, and one early list gives the names of the first six Tracts, omitting THE PROTESTATYON, also stating where they were printed.

The School-point was the theme which the University scholar exhibited and was prepared to defend, according to the methods of formal logic, against all comers. Martin selects a number of extracts from the speeches of the bishops and their supporters and constitutes them school-points. Many of these points were serious matters to the minds of the Evangelical reformers; some represent clerical scandals; some reveal Martin's own ingenuity chiefly; and others give publicity to grotesque views uttered by the Church defenders.

The story of the production of THE MINERALLS is given more fully in the *Hist. Intro.*, pp. 180 f.

The press mark of the unique copy of the Tract at Lambeth is 30. 6. 24 (7). It is folded into a small volume with other Tracts, and is slightly cropped by the binder.

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Certaine Quæres, and Metaphisicall Sethopocrates, to be defended by the reuerende Bishops, and the reſt of the clergie maſters of the Conuocation howſe, againſt both the vniuerſities, and all the reformed Churches in Chriſtendome. Wherein is layd open the very quinteſſence of all Capernoner diuinitie. And withy alſo to the preuenting of thoſe ſnares of thoſe wyanglinge Puritans, aye

perſons by whom, and the places where theſe miſteries are ſo wrongfully maintayned, are for the moſt part plainly ſet downe

to the view of all men, and that to the eternall prayſe of the moſt reuerend Fathers.

1 That the Puritans may aſwell deny the ſonne of God to be Homouſeos, that is, Conſubſtantiall with God the father: as they may denie the ſuperiorite of Archb. and Bb. to be lawfull. The defendant in this point is father John of Fulham, in his preface before Barnardeus de Loques booke of the Church, publiſhed in English.

2 That a B. may ſafely haue two liuings in eſſe at once: the defendant in this point is father Mart. Elder, D. of S. Dauids, who hath 2. liuing: the one Elizabeth Gigge, the other Ales Pryne. Proceed againſt him before the high commiſſion.

3 That our Sauiour Chriſte in ſoule deſcended into hell: the defendant in this point is father John of Lambehith, T. C. page 44. But you muſt not take CHRIST C. of mine for Thomas Cartwright, this is profane T. C.

4 That our Sauiour Chriſt in his ſermons, vſually ſweare by his fayth. For he ſaid Amen, Amen, which is as much to ſay, as by my faith: the defendant in this point is father Thomas of Winchester, alias profane T. C. pag. 62.

5 That Moſes in giuing a bill of diuorcement, Deut. 24. brake the morall law of God: the defendant in this point is Thomas of Winchester, alias profane T. C. pag. 111.

6 That papiſtrie is better then the ſincere profeſſion of the goſpell, which falſely men call puritaniſme: the defendant in this point is father Edmond of worceſter.

7 That the publike faſts & the prayers of puritans were the cauſe of the inuaſion of the Spaniard, and of all other troubles and turmoiles within the Land: the defendant in this point is father William of Bichfield and Couentree, alias Parſon of Solyhall.

8 That the long prayers of the Puritanes, beſore and after their ſermons, are nothing elſe but beetle babble: the defendant in this point is father John of Fulham, in M. Cawdries examination.

9 That there is no other way of mayl before the high commiſſion, but by approaching and accuſing a mans ſelfe, and that no Starre can ſtand without ſuch conſeſſing and ſwearing: the defendants in this point are, Thom. Cooper, John Caſe, and ſam others, at the examination of M. Wigginton, at Lambeth, in December laſt, 1588.

10 That it is as lawfull for our B. Bb. to make bad miniſters, as it was for the Diſciples of our Sauiour, to pluck the eares of corne on the Sabbath, to ſtaue their hunger: the defendant in this point is father Thomas of winchester, alias profane T. C.

11 That reading is preaching: the defendant in this point is father John a Bridges, page 564. 665.

12 That the conſecrate may lawfully maime & deſorme the bodie of chriſt, in vniuerſal Churche: the defendants in this point, are al the 24. orders of Bb. and eſpecially father Canterbury.

13 That more good may be wrought by our ordinary ſeruice, then by preachinge: the defendant in this point is father John a Bridges, page 652.

14 That the croſſe in Baptiſme, and Organs in Cathedrall Churches, are as neceſſarie as a preaching miniſtery: the defendant in this point is father Goodman of Weſtminſter.

15 That our L. Bb. in England, are the biſhops of the diuell: the defendant in this point (Albanik him) is father John O Sarum, pag. 339. 340.

16 That ene baptiſm may be out of the Church: the defendant in this point is father Robert Some, page 158. of his booke againſt I. P.

17 That it is no more vnlawful for a miniſter to haue many benefices, then for a temporall man to haue many Lordſhips: the deſendant in this point, is father Richard Coſins.

18 That one prieſt or elder may haue a lawfull ſuperior, authoritie ouer the vniuerſall bodie of the Church: the defendant in this point, is father John a Bridges, page 448. line 3.

19 That S. Paule erred verie groſſly, 1. Cor. 1. 21. Rom. 10. 14. in holding the preaching of the word, to be the onely ordinary meanes of ſaluation. The diſendants in this point are all the clergie maſters of S. Comunorato houſe.

20 That the people ought to haue as much to do in matters of State, as in the Election of theſe miniſters: the defendant in this point, is father Thom. of Winchester, alias profane T. C. page 43.

21 That our common booke of prayers, is without all ſuſpicion of errour: the defendant is, father John O Sarum in his preface, and page 652.

22 That the Surplice is ter Antichriſts badge and regnuſaunce: the defendant in this point is father Iohn Mardeſtie, Cawdries examinacion.

23 That the Biſhops garbe, is ſummes of mutney before hand, againſt the time of the neceſſarie ſuffe & there countries: the defendant in this point is father Thomas of Winchester, profane T. C. par. 1. pag. 148.

24 That he may be a lawfull and good miniſter of the Goſpell, which is not fit to teach: the defendant is, father Thomas of winchester, T. C. par. 1. pag. 148.

25 That the Archb. of Canterbury, in holding baptiſme a ſacrament, and by two in this point is father Robert Some, in his table of 50. Perſons errors, pag. 26.

26 That the Archb. of Cant. is a grieſe head, for he hath allowed the defacing of the Katerphas by M. Bo. &c. when he was reading against Bellarmine: the defendant is father Thomas of winchester, T. C. pag. 43.

27 That without ere a bene, a man may be a miniſter, and make himſelfe a brother: the defendant in this point is father Thomas of winchester, profane T. C. pag. 43.

28 That all reformed Churches are to be condemned, for the ſame Church only to be imbraced in theſe three points, viz. firſt in the deſcending of Chriſt ſoule into hell; ſecondly in the ſuperiority of miniſters ouer their flocks; and thirdly in attributing the name Prieſt vnto the miniſters of the new Teſtament: the defendant in this point againſt all men is father John a Lamberh, Comprinilegio pro fane T. C. page 44. 45.

29 That the ſtate of England at this preſent is ſo diſordered, that whatſoeuer an Eccleſiaſticall officer may do by authority, the ſame a priuate ſubiect thinketh he may do at his owne will & pleaſure: the defendant in this point is Maſter Cowper of Hadſandon, alias profane T. C. page 94.

30 That it is the generall diſeaſe of Engliſhmen to haue an admiration of perſons & ſtates of other countries, and to loath their owne: the defendant in this point is father Thomas of Eaſtmeane, alias profane T. C. page 105.

31 That the Miniſtrie and our gouernours cannot haue continuance, vnleſſe from them vnleſſe they be entrapped by the Diuels ſophiſtrie & ſubtilties, to worke miſchiefe in the Church, and to trouble the common wealth: the defendant is the Tub-trimmer of winchester, profane T. C. page 155.

32 That the doctrine of our Sauiour Chriſte, concerning the equalitie of miniſters, Luk. 22. 25. And the doctrine of S. Paule, concerning the perpetuitie of the Churche gouernment, by Paſtor, Doctor, Gouernments and Deacons, Rom. 12, 6, 7, 8. Epheſ. 4. 13, 1. Tim. 6. 13, 14. is too great a bridle vnto Chriſtian liberte: the defendant in this point is father Thomas of winchester alias profane T. C. pag. 135. and all the Terrible Prieſts.

33 That Chriſt Jeſus the ſonne of God, was not ſo faithfull in the gouernment of his owne houſe as Moſes was: for Moſes ordained a gouernement that might not be changed by man, ſo did not Chriſt: the defendants in this point are all the 24. orders of Biſhops, and all the clergie maſters.

34 That the Creede of the Apoſtles and of Athanaſius the Queen ſo retaine many palpable lyes in them, for, the Apoſtles (which hath many gracious lyes in it, as 1. Epiſt. 1. 4. 21. Iude 13. 14. 15. Rom. 5. 12. Rom. 8. 11. in the 3. verſe to the Canonicall ſcriptures: the defendant in this point is father Thomas of winchester, profane T. C. page 49.

35 That it is not lawfull for the Miniſters to beſore the Bb. kneling vpon knees: the defendant in this point is father Tho. winch. profane T. C. p. 19.

36 That it may be accounted for one of our Biſhops great faults, that they haue not hitherto by excommunication, conſtrained our prince & magiſtrates to do that, which by perſuaſion they would not do: the defendant in this point is father Thomas of winchester, profane T. C. p. 136. 137.

37 That the State of England cannot poſſibly ſtand without B. Biſhops. And ſo that the Croune of England cannot ſtand without the Creame of Canterburie. The defendant in this point is father Thomas of winchester, profane T. C. pag. 78. and all the 24. orders of Biſhops. Upon whome I beſeech you ſlow this odd point.

Good Reader, if thou know of any that dare argue or diſpute againſt any of the former points, that is, if thou know of any that dare

defend Chriſt Jeſus and his prerogatiue, the truetly of his word, the credite of S. Paul, the vertue of the Apoſtles Creed, her Maieſtie & her princes ſupremacie, God in the reuerend Biſhops & Clergie, & their godly zeale againſt Antichriſt, & his errors, if thou know of any that dare defend the ſtate of England to be ſo diſordered as before is ſet downe, Article 29. and dare withſtand the publike, generall, & honourable and ſtanding order of the Biſhops, in their ſeuerall Dioceſſes, & ſet him ſet vp his name, and we will ſende a Purſeuant for him. Whoſoeuer he be, he ſhall be attended vnto order, quietly, and not haled, nor drawen, and ſhall haue walles in the Gatehouſe, or ſome other priſon.

[*THE MINERALLS*]

Certain Mineral and Metaphysical Schoolpoints (1) to be defended by the Reverend Bishops and the rest of my Clergy-masters of the Convocation House, against both the Universities and all the Reformed Churches in Christendom. Wherein is laid open the very quintessence of all cater-corner (2) divinity. And withal, to the preventing of the cavils of these wrangling Puritans, the persons by whom, and the places where, these miseries are so worthily maintained are, for the most part, plainly set down to the view of all men, and that to th' eternal praise of the most reverend Fathers.

1. That the Puritans may as well deny the Son of God to be Homoouseos, that is, con-substantial with God the Father, as they may deny the superiority [preëminence] of archbishops and bishops to be lawful. (3) The defendant in this point is Father John of Fulham, in his preface before Barnardeus de Loques' book of The Church, published in English (4).

(1) 'Mineral' as used here seems to be one of Martin's oddities of speech. In the Index to Hazlitt's *Collections*, the Tract is entered under the short title 'Moral and Metaphysical Conclusions.' But Martin probably used the word with the meaning *material* and as complementary to the word *metaphysical*.

(2) An allusion to the square cap worn by the prelates.

(3) In the great controversy concerning the person of Christ, Arius held that His nature, though not the same, yet was *like*—homoiousia, ὁμοιουσία —that of God the Father; while his orthodox opponent Athanasius held that the nature was the same—homoousia, ὁμοουσία —or consubstantial, as is expressed above.

(4) The work of de Loque was originally written in French under the title *Les Principaux abus de la Messe*, &c., 2 vols., 8vo, La Rochelle, 1579. It appeared in an English dress a couple of years later as *A Treatie of the Churche, containing a true discourse to knowe the true church by, and to discerne it from the Romish Church and all other false assemblies, or counterfeit congregations. Written by M. Bertrande de Loque of Dolphinee and dedicated vnto my Lord the Vicount of Turenne. And faithfully translated out of the French into English, by T. W*[ilcox]. It is an 8vo, 422 p.; the 'Treatie' itself occupies 384 pp. [Lamb. Pal. Lib. xxviij. 9, 14; B. M. 3936, aa. 40.] In the British Museum copy an old hand, though not contemporary, perhaps, has added to the 'Admonition to the Reader,' which occupies 8 pp., a MS. note to the effect that it was 'stated in Martin M his Protestaton that this was penned by the B: of London.' The reference should have been to THE MINERALLS. *The Dialogue wherein is plainly laid open,*

2. That a L[ord] B[ishop] (1) may safely have two wives *in esse* at once. The defendant in this point is Father Marmaduke [Middleton] Bishop of St. David's, who hath two now living; the one Elizabeth Giggs, the other Alice Prime. Proved against him before the High Commission.

3. That our Saviour Christ in soul descended into hell. The defendant in this case is Father John of Lambeth, T. C. [*i.e. The Admonition*] page 44. But you must not take this T. C. of mine for Thomas Cartwright. This is profane T. C. (2).

4. That our Saviour Christ in his sermons usually sware by His faith; for He said 'Amen, Amen,' which is as much to say as 'By my Faith.' The defendant in this point is Father Thomas of Winchester (3), *alias* profane T. C. [*The Admonition*] page 62.

&c., Sig. B 2, also ascribes this 'Admonition' to Bishop Aylmer. It required some hardihood on Aylmer's part to introduce to English readers this work, the translation of which is assigned by the British Museum authorities to the Puritan minister Thomas Wilcox. Indeed, Aylmer himself, in this introductory chapter, refers to his hesitation in publishing de Loque's work, because of the wrong use that might be made of it, 'especially the ninth chapter'; the title of which runs, 'Touching the degrees of Ministers in the Church,' &c. B. de Loque does not condemn the titles allowed in the Reformed Churches, but desires 'to elevate [expose] and impugn the tyranie and ambition of the popish prelacy . . . who leaving their function of preaching and teaching have vsurped I knowe not what authoritie and power of commanding what they list in the church of God,'—the very allegation of the Puritans against the English prelacy. The particular accusation contained in the above 'school-point' refers to the close of Aylmer's preface: 'Now whereas many make much adoe about the titles of Bishops Metropolitans and Archbishops and the Scripture is still alledged as an aduersarie in this quarell: and containing expresly no such name. Thus may they make our Saviour Christ inferiour to his father concerning his diuinitie because the title [the Greek word is misprinted] is no where literally expressed, although the same by sundrie places may be well and justly gathered.' The *Dialogue* above referred to repeats this point against Aylmer; adding the words 'flat contrary to the saying of our Sauior Christ, Luke 22 [vv. 66-71].'—Sig. B 2 rect. and vers.

(1) Marmaduke Middleton became Bishop of Waterford in 1579, and of St. David's in 1582. It may be assumed that if this serious charge could be disproved or denied, the disproof or denial would have appeared in the *Admonition*. About three years later than the date of Martin's writing Middleton was formally degraded from his episcopal office. See THE EPISTLE, pp. 90, 95, and *note*; HAY ANY WORKE, p. 215. The original has L. G., clearly a misprint for L[ord] B[ishop].

(2) See THE EPISTLE, p. 56, *note* (4); HAY ANY WORKE, p. 271.

(3) The defendant in this case ought to be Bishop Aylmer; for Cooper in his *Admonition* only inserts the defence supplied by Aylmer.

5. That Moses in giving a bill of divorcement, *Deut.* 24, brake the moral law of God. The defendant in this point is Thomas of Winchester, *alias* profane T. C., page 111 (1).

6. That Papistry is better than the sincere profession of the Gospel which falsely men call Puritanism. The defendant in this point is Father Edmond [Freke] of Worcester (2).

7. That the public fasts and the prayers of the Puritans were the cause of the invasion of the Spaniards, and of all other troubles and turmoils within the land. The defendant in this point is Father William [Overton] of Lichfield and Coventry, *alias* Parson of Solihull (3).

8. That the long prayers of the Puritans before and after their sermons are nothing else but 'beeble-babble, beeble-babble.' The defendant in this point is Father John [Aylmer] of Fulham in Master Cawdry's examination (4).

That defence is that 'By my faith' is much the same as 'Amen,' and since Christ used the expression 'Amen' then Martin's deduction is, that Aylmer would charge Christ with swearing. See THE EPISTLE, p. 22, *note* (2).

(1) Cooper is contending that laws may sometimes be rightcously broken, and instances the case of David and his men eating the shew bread and the Maccabees fighting upon the Sabbath. He then gives the case above: 'Yea, in a morall commandement of God touching mariage, we see God to vse a maner of dispensation, in respect of the frailtie of mans nature.'

(2) We have not traced the reference, but it will be remembered that Freke before being translated to Worcester had been for nine years Bishop of Norwich, the centre of the Separatist movement—the most vigorous and uncompromising section of Puritanism.

(3) For some particulars about Overton, see THE EPITOME, p. 156, *note* (1). He was quite equal to making such an assertion in order to raise the cry 'Puritani ad leones.' *Ft.* has 'Solyhall.'

(4) Usually 'bibble-babble,' = idle chatter. 'Malvolio, Malvolio, thy wits the heavens restore! endeavour thyself to sleep and leave thy vain bibble-babble.'—Twelfth Night, iv. 2. Aylmer's style will be at once recognised. Robert Cawdry was rector of Luffenham in Rutlandshire, which living he received from Burghley. After ministering for twenty years and gaining a good reputation both for his abilities and for his practical piety, he was charged with refusing to make the sign of the cross in baptism, and some such ceremonial defects. On refusing to take the oath *ex officio* he was utterly deprived of all ministerial exercise. At his examination (December, 1586), before Bishop Aylmer, Dr. Stanhope and Dr. Walker, the Bishop delivered himself of the following dignified sentiments. 'Are not we the queen's servants? And is not the surplice the livery which she hath appointed to be worn? And do you think she will be content if we refuse to wear it? Besides, the long prayer which you use before your sermons is nothing but *bibble babble*,

9. That there is no other way of trial before the High Commission but by appeaching [impeaching] and accusing a man's self, and that no State can stand without such answering and swearing. The defendants in this point are Thomas Cooper, John Cant. [Whitgift] and some others at the examination of Master Wigginton (1) at Lambeth, in December last, 1588.

10. That it is as lawful for our Lord Bishops to make bad ministers as it was for the Disciples of our Saviour to pluck the ears of corn on the Sabbath to slake their hunger. The defendant in this point is Father Thomas [Cooper] of Winchester, *alias* profane T. C. (2).

11. That reading is preaching. The defendant in this point is Father John a Bridges, page[s] 564, 565 (3).

12. That the Magistrate may lawfully maim and deform the body of Christ, to wit, the Church. The defendants in this point are all the twenty-four orders of bishops, and especially Father Canterbury.

13. That more good may be wrought by our ordinary

bibble babble.'—Brook's *Lives*, i. 433. See further reference to Aylmer's views in School-point, No. 22, p. 190.

(1) Giles Wigginton, vicar of Sedbergh, in the North Riding, is frequently referred to in the Tracts, indeed Whitgift told him that *publica fama* strongly alleged him to be their author. For some reference to his deprivation and long series of persecutions, see THE EPISTLE, p. 59, and *note* (1). Wigginton has left a vivid and interesting account of his arrest and his trial at Lambeth on Dec. 6th, 1588, before the Archbishop, Bishop Cooper, Dean Goodman, Dr. Aubrey, Dr. Richard Cosin, all of the High Commission, from which we have quoted at length in the *Hist. Intro.*, pp. 83 ff. (§ 5 *Wigginton's Opposition and its Penalty.*)

(2) Cooper first states the reformers' objection to an incompetent ministry, St. Paul having laid it down as one of the necessary qualifications of a minister that he should be '*Aptus ad docendum*, that is, able to teach.' His reply is that no man can perfectly satisfy all the qualifications, and if all save those that are perfect are excluded the churches will lose the greatest part of their ministry. Then 'God sometime beareth with breach of his commandement.' 'Christ himselfe may seeme to give the reason for their defence when he saith, The Sabboth was ordeined for man and not man for the Sabboth.' In the margin there is a reference to Mark 2—the case of the Disciples plucking the ears of corn on the Sabbath day.—Cooper's *Admonition*, 109—111.

(3) Dean Bridges in these pages asserts the sufficiency of the Sacraments when administered without a sermon, but with the liturgical forms, which include scriptural extracts, appointed; 'the best preacher in the world cannot say more.'

service than by preaching. The defendant in this point is Father John a Bridges [Defence] p. 652 (1).

14. That the cross in baptism and organs in cathedral churches are as necessary as a preaching ministry. The defendant in this point is Father Goodman [Dean] of Westminster (2).

15. That our Lord Bishops in England are the bishops of the devil. The defendant in this point (I thank him) is Father John o' Sarum, [Defence] pag[es] 339, 340 (3).

16. That true bapti[s]m may be out of the Church. The defendant in this point is Father Robert Some, page 158 of his book against J[ohn] P[enry] (4).

17. That it is no more unlawful for a minister to have many benefices than for a temporal [lay] man to have many lordships. The defendant in this point is Father Richard Cosins (5).

(1) The contention in the *Defence* is that the *service* achieves all that the 'Brethren' claim for preaching; possibly 'all this and more too.' Rather than be condemned 'it may better bee called a fruitefull kynde of preaching.'

(2) This no doubt alludes to the discussion upon the Six Articles presented by the reformers to the Lower House of Convocation in 1562. The 3rd Article proposed to allow the sign of the Cross in baptism to be omitted, and the 6th, 'that the use of organs be removed.' Goodman resisted the proposed articles, but there appears to be no record remaining of the discussion which took place.—Strypè's *Annals*, I., i., 502, 503. See reference to Goodman in THE EPISTLE, p. 73, *note* (3).

(3) It is Martin's contention that the office of bishop as held in the Church of England is a human invention—a corruption of the Gospel model. In Book iv. of the *Defence* Bridges, answering Beza concerning the man-made bishop, boldly asserts there can be but two kinds of bishop: the bishop of God divinely ordained, and the man-made, who is none other or better than 'a Bishop of the deuill.' So Martin draws the above conclusion. The point is again referred to in HAY ANY WORKE, pp. 254—256, and is discussed in the *Hist. Intro.*, pp. 258, 259.

(4) Dr. Some strongly contends that heretical baptism is valid; those baptised under such auspices are not to be rebaptised, quoting Augustine and all learned men—Cyprian excepted. But he recognises one difficulty which his position creates. Heretics have *lawful* baptism, nevertheless he says 'If any shall aske whether it be lawfull to offer our infants to baptisme out of the Church because all learned men (except the Donatists, &c. in *Augustines* time and M. *Penry* and his worthie disciples in our time) haue and doe affirme, that true baptisme hath bene and may be out of the Church: My answere is negatiue,' &c.—*A Godly Treatise*, 158, 159.

(5) Cosins does not appear to have published anything before this date; but he had taken part as a doctor of law in many ecclesiastical cases.

18. That one priest or elder may have a lawful superior authority over the universal body of the Church. The defendant in this point is Father John a Bridges [Defence] page 448, line 3 (1).

19. That St. Paul erred very grossly (1 Cor. 1^{21}, Rom. 10^{14}) in holding the preaching of the Word to be the only ordinary means of salvation. The defendants in this point are all the clergy-masters of the Convocation House.

20. That the people ought to have as much to do in matters of state as in the election of their ministers. The defendant in this point is Father Thomas [Cooper] of Winchester, *alias* profane T. C., [*Admonition*], page 43 (2).

21. That our common Book of Prayer is without all suspicion of error. The defendant is Father John o' Sarum in his [*Defence*], preface and page 652 (3).

22. That the surplice is her Majesty's badge and cognisance. The defendant in this point is Father John Mar-elm [Aylmer] in Master Cawdry's examination (4).

23. That the Bishops gather up sums of money beforehand, against the time of necessary service of their country. The defendant in this point is Father Thomas [Cooper] of Winchester, profane T. C. [*Admonition*] page 148 (5).

(1) 'Doth *S. Peter* then forbid, *that any one Elder should haue and exercise any superior gouvernmēt ouer the cleargy, understanding the cleargy* in this sense? If he doth not, but alloweth it, and his self praised it, then howsoever the *name both of gouerning and of clergy* may be abused, ye matter is cleare, that *one Priest or Elder,* amōg the residue, may haue a lawfull *superior auth. and gouernmēt ouer the cleargy;* (that is) *ouer all the vniversal body of the Church, in every particular or several cōgregation;* and so not over the people, but also over the *whole order of Minist.*' The point to be noted is that this argument justifies a universal papacy.

(2) The reference is in error; page 43 contains no allusion to School point, § 20.

(3) It is only by implication that this view of the Prayer Book is contained in the places referred to, although it was a professed episcopal view, as we find elsewhere.

(4) Aylmer's words are quoted above, School-point § 8, p. 187.

(5) 'He that shall charitably consider the state of Bishops, as they are by the authoritie of the Prince and lawes of this Realme, will not thinke it impiety in them, against the time of necessary seruice of their countrey, to haue some reasonable summe of money before hand, gathered in honestie and iust vsing of their owne.' Bishop Cooper further admits that they are reported to amass riches from motives of avarice, which

24. That he may be a lawful and good minister of the Gospel, which [who] is not fit to teach. The defendant is Father Thomas of Winchester, T. C. [*Admonition*] pages 109, 110 (1).

25. That the Archbishop of Canter[bury] &c., in holding baptism administered by women to be the seal of God's covenant is an absurd heretic. The defendant in this point is Father Robert Some, in his 'Table of Master Penry's errors,' page 3 (2).

26. That the Archbishop of Cant. is a giddy head and to be bridled, because he allowed the defacing of the Apocrypha by Master Doctor Whitaker (3) in his readings against Bellarmine. The defendant is Father Thomas of Winchester, profane T. C. [*Admonition*] page 49.

27. That without two benefices a minister cannot well furnish himself of [with] books. The defendant in this point is Father Boleyn [Dean] of Lichfield (4).

28. That all Reformed Churches are to be condemned and the Popish Church only to be embraced in these points; viz., *first*, in the descending of Christ's soul into hell; *secondly*, in the superiority [in rank] of ministers over their

could not be excused. But his contention that it would be only prudent to have a little in hand against the subsidies demanded from the bishops by the Queen was probably justified.

(1) Cooper's words are quoted in the note to § 10, p. 188.

(2) Dr. Some says that the implication of Penry's doctrine of Baptism is that 'the outwarde and bare element deliuered by him, which in *M. Penryes* iudgement is no minister, is the seale of Gods covenant,' and then he adds, 'Which is a most absurd heresie.' Whitgift holds that women are no ministers and yet may baptize, and hence would come under Some's severe condemnation. The Table is given in the enlarged edition of Some's *Godly Treatise*. See above, § 16, p. 189.

(3) William Whitaker, professor of divinity at Cambridge, and master of St. John's College, the great Protestant controversialist, to whom reference is made in THE EPISTLE, p. 56, *note* (1), published in 1588, of course with Whitgift's consent, a work on the Scriptures —*Disputatio de sacra scriptura contra . . . Robertum Bellarminum*, &c. The full title and the six chief heads are given in Strype's *Annals*, III., ij., 158. In the first section (*De numero canonicorum librorum scripturæ*) he controverts the Romish view of the Apocrypha. But Whitgift (Cooper as quoted by Martin is only the Archbishop's scribe) says 'such giddie heads as secke to deface them [the Apocryphal books] are to be bridled.' Reference, as above.

(4) A reference to Dean Boleyn will be found in THE EPITOME, p. 156, *note* (1).

fellow brethren; *thirdly* in attributing the name 'priest' unto the ministers of the New Testament. The defendant in this point against all men is Father John [Whitgift] of Lambeth, *cum privilegio* profane T. C. [*Admonition*] page[s] 44, 45 (1).

29. That the state of England at this present is so disordered that whatsoever an ecclesiastical officer may do by authority, the same a private subject thinketh he may do at his own will and pleasure. The defendant in this point is Mistress Cooper's husband *alias* profane T. C. [*Admonition*] page 94 (2).

30. That it is the general disease of Englishmen to have in admiration the persons and states of other countries and to loathe their own. The defendant in this point is Father Thomas [Cooper] of Eastmeon (3), *alias* profane T. C. [*Admonition*] page 105 (4).

31. That her Majesty and our governors cannot take away bishops' livings from them; unless they be entrapped by the devil's sophistry, to suffer him to work mischief in the Church, and to trouble the Commonwealth. The defendant is the Tub-trimmer [*i.e.* the Cooper] of Winchester, profane T. C. [*Admonition*] page 155 (5).

(1) Whitgift's statement on the first point is given in THE EPISTLE, p. 56, *note* (4). On the third point Whitgift says, 'He hath shewed sufficient reason in his booke againe T[homas] C[artwright] why ministers of the Gospell may be called Priests. The ancient fathers so cal them. The church of *England* imbraceth that name, and that by the authoritie of the highest court in *England*. And why may not *Presbyter* be called *Priest?* In these three points . . . he doth agree with the holy Scriptures, vvith the vniversall Church of God, with all antiquitie, and in some sort with the Church of *Rome*.' As already noted (THE EPISTLE, *ibid.*), he disavows the Popish meaning of the word 'priest.' The last clause in the 'schoolpoint' signifies that Whitgift's defence appeared in the book edited and chiefly written by Thomas Cooper.—*Admonition*, as above.

(2) With slight and insignificant variations this 'School-point' is given in Cooper's words.

(3) M. Eastmeane. See the title-page to HAY ANY WORKE, and p. 216.

(4) Appeal had been made in the Puritan pamphlets to the practice of the Reformed Churches abroad as well as to the deplorable state of the Church at home in England. Hence Cooper's remark, which may be applied with some measure of truth to Englishmen in all generations. Other nations tell a similar story of themselves.

(5) The Bishop complains that the outcry against the high ecclesi-

32. That the doctrine of our Saviour Christ concerning the equality of ministers (Luke 22^{25}), and the doctrine of St. Paul concerning the perpetuity of the Church government by Pastors, Doctors, Elders and Deacons (Rom. 12^{6-8}, Eph. 4^{13}, 1 Tim. $6^{13, 14}$) is too great a bridle unto Christian liberty. The defendant in this point is Father Thomas of Winchester, *alias*, profane T. C. [*Admonition*] page 135; and all the Terrible Priests (1).

33. That Christ Jesus the Son of God was not so faithful in the government of His own house as Moses was; for Moses ordained a government that might not be changed by man: so did not Christ. The defendants in this point are all the twenty-four orders of Bishops, and all the clergy-masters.

34. That the Creed of the Apostles and of Athanasius, the Nicene, &c., contain many palpable lies in them; for the Apocrypha (which hath many outrageous lies in it, as in 2 Esdr. 14^{21}, Judith $11^{5, 18}$, Tob. 5^{12}) is in authority next to the Canonical Scriptures. The defendant in this point is Father Thomas of Winchester, profane T. C. (2) [*Admonition*] page 49.

astics is raised in order to induce the authorities to take away their 'lands and liuings.' 'But it behooueth all Christian Princes and Magistrates to take heede, that they bee not intrapped with this sophistrie of Satans schoole. This is the Rhetorike that he useth, when he wil worke any mischief in the Church of God or stirre up any trouble or alteration of a state in a common weale.'

(1) In reply to the Puritan statement that a simple democratic order of church government, with many presidents [bishops], governors, and chief ministers in every congregation, was practised by the Apostles and in the primitive Church, Cooper first ingenuously wrote, 'I will not deny it.' But after the book was printed the Episcopal Committee thought it was too generous an admission to make, even in the interests of historic truth; so they pasted over it a cancel-slip containing the words 'That is not yet proved,' as appears in all the copies of this original edition. Then Cooper proceeds, 'But let them struggle while they (that) lust, they shall neuer find a commandement in the Scriptures charging that it should for euer be so. It were too great a bridle of christian liberty in things external, to cast vpon the church of Christ.' Such a system he thinks might be the best in times of persecution under tyrants, but under the rule of Christian princes, with the consent of the magistrate, the Church has liberty to alter such things to the needs of the time.

(2) The defendant should be Archbishop Whitgift, who would not allow that there was anything erroneous in the Apocrypha, which he

35. That it is not lawful for her Majesty to bestow the bishops' livings upon laymen. The defendant in this point is Father Thomas of Winchester, profane T. C. [*Admonition*] page 252 (1).

36. That it may be accounted for one of our Bishops' great faults, that they have not hitherto, by excommunication constrained our Prince [i.e. the Queen] and Magistrates to do that which, by persuasion, they would not do. The defendant in this point is Father Thomas of Winchester, profane T. C. [*Admonition*] page 137 (2).

37. That the State of England cannot possibly stand without Lord Bishops. And so, that the Crown of England

placed in authority 'next to the Canonicall Scriptures.'—See THE EPISTLE, p. 78, *note* (2).

(1) This occurs in the penultimate sentence in the *Admonition*. Cooper defends the lordly possessions of the Bishops by a Parthian shot, as Arber remarks. He likens the murmuring of the 'Seekers after Reformation' against the 'liberal benefit' which the Queen had bestowed, not upon bishops, for their name cannot be mentioned in such a connection, but, as this sage old student more knowingly puts it, 'towards the maintenance of the Ministery and Preachers of his vvorde,' to Judas murmuring against the generosity of Mary of Bethany. Then he concludes, 'I coulde with better reason and authoritie prooue the Contrary Proposition to that which they take vpon them to maintaine: that is, *That it is not lawfull to bestow such liuings vpon Lay men, as are appointed by godly lawes for Ministers and Preachers of the worde of God.* But the shortnesse of the time will not now serue to follow that course.' The sentence which he prints in italics is one of several hints to the Queen on the question of church property, contained in the *Admonition*. The truth is that Elizabeth was as unscrupulous as the church dignitaries were in seizing such property. But this 35th point has additional interest as an item of evidence upon the authorship of the Tracts. The real Martin was not in favour of alienating church property. See HAY ANY WORKE, p. 258; JUST CENSURE, p. 368, *note* (4) (note on Bishop Underhill); and especially THE PROTESTATYON, p. 407; also *Hist. Intro.*, 100 ff.

(2) At the page indicated Cooper tells us that the Pope used his power of excommunication 'to bring the neckes of Emperors and Princes, vnder his girdle, and to make the whole world subiect to him.' But the Bishops 'by their preaching' 'haue bin principall instruments to ouerthrow the same in the Church of *Rome*' [as it existed in England under Mary]. None can therefore accuse the Bishops of abusing the power of excommunication after the Romish example, by endeavouring 'to excommunicate the Prince and gouernours, of purpose to make them subiect to their authoritie in the Church. And happily that may bee a fault, yea and a great fault that is found with them in these days, that they doe not so, and constraine the Prince and Rulers to doe that, which by perswasion they will not doe.' The Bishop's irony is a clumsy weapon. He here claims credit to the Bishops for not constraining (i.e. compelling) Elizabeth to do that which she would not do by mere persuasion. We wonder if the Queen ever noticed this playful stroke.

cannot stand without the Crown of Canterbury. The defendant in this point is Father Thomas of Winchester, profane T.C. [*Admonition*] page 78, and all the twenty-four orders of Bishops. Upon whom I bestow this odd point (1).

(1) Cooper says 'The lawes of *Englande* to this day, haue stoode by the authoritie of the three Estates: vvhich to alter now, by leauing out the one, may happily seeme a matter of more weight then all men doe judge it. . . . I thinke there is no vvise man but seeth what daunger may followe in these perillous times, not onely by fulfilling the thing, but also by offering to doe it.' Like all men who stand to profit by laws as they are, the Bishop was strongly adverse to legislative change, and, like all ecclesiastics, he sheltered his own interest behind the larger constitutional question. You cannot touch the condition of the bishop without wounding the State. So he proceeds: 'It hath beene alwayes dangerous, to picke quarrels against lawes setled. And I pray God, that the very rumour hereof, spread by these mens bookes, haue not already bred more inconuenience then without hurt will be suppreſsed: I may not put all that I thinke, in writing.' The Bishop's uneasiness at the mention of reform may be dismissed; the claim of the Episcopate to be considered at this time one of the three estates of the realm is a weightier matter. The very able and learned writer of 'A Petition directed to her most excellent Maiestie' [1589] discusses the question with much legal knowledge and acumen. Matt. Sutcliffe had at an earlier date made the like claim, and the argument of the *Petition* is addressed first of all to him, and to his observations in an English treatise against the Jesuit Parsons. The effort of the bishops, let it be clearly understood, is to identify defamation of themselves with defamation of her Majesty, inasmuch as they are members of 'hir Maiesties body politike and upholde by hir lawes.' Granted, says our author, that such writers as Martin Marprelate do defame the bishops, then do they not defame her Majesty, according to 'the statute of *Newes*' (quoted by him as 23 Eliz. ca. 2, Newes 6). There are, he says, two general Bodies Politic in this land (*a*) her Majesty, (*b*) the Body Politic of the Realme, containing Three Estates—the Queen's Majesty, the Lords, and the Commons, giving as marginal references 11 Hen. VII. 27; 7 Hen. VII. 24, 15 [Hen. VII.] 36 and 37; Hen. VIII. Dier. 60. Since the time of Henry II. the Bishops have attended the King's Court along with the Barons, retiring, however, from any case involving loss of life or limb; but they were present by grace and favour and not *de jure*, being called, if they were godly, for consultation on Church affairs. Now, however, he says, referring directly to the words of Bishop Cooper quoted above, they boldly insinuate that the Statutes have no force without them. But in proof that they are wrong, he points out that many laws have been made without them, when they were absent, and when they utterly refused to assent to their being passed. The writer's references on this point are interesting: 'Jewell, *Def. Apo.* pag. 644; *Nowell, Dor*[*man*]: *Disp*[*roof*] p. 13; Fox A[cts] and M[onuments] p. 421; Bilson [later Bishop of Winchester] Book in 4° [a reply to Allen's Apology for the Eng. Colleges at Rome and Rheims, entitled *The true Difference bet. Christian Subjection and Antichristian Rebellion*—1585] p. 536; Lambert, *Peramb*[*ulation*] *of Kent*, p. 221.' He then concludes his argument by observing that seeing Bishops are not one of the three Estates of the Realm, or of the Body Politic of the Realm otherwise than common subjects be, it cannot be said that they are members of her Majesty's Body Politic. Therefore the defaming of them no more touches the

Good Reader, if thou know of any that dare argue or dispute against any of the former points, that is, if thou know of any that dare defend Christ Jesus and His prerogative, the truth of His word, the credit of St. Paul, the verity of the Apostles' Creed, her Majesty and her prerogative, and stand to the received truth in the Reformed Churches, and gainsay Popish errors; briefly, if thou know of any that dare defend the State of England, not to be so disordered, as before is set down (Article 29), and dare withstand the public general dishonour and slander of the whole English nation (Article 30), let him set up his name and we will send a pursuivant for him. Whosoever he be, the matters shall be according unto order quietly tried out between him and the bare walls in the Gatehouse or some other prison.

Queen than the defaming of a common subject, the punishment of which is not that due to felons.—*A Petition directed*, &c., pp. 16-18.

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IV. HAY ANY WORKE FOR COOPER

Printed at the White Friars, Coventry, the residence of John Hales, Esq., March, 1589

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

In our introductory remarks to The Mineralls reference was made to the removal of the Marprelate Press from Fawsley and its neighbourhood to Coventry, where that *ad interim* broadside and also the present Tract were printed by Waldegrave, set up in his handsome black letter type. The original is a small quarto of 58 pp. (sig. A—Bi vers.= 10 pp. + 1–47 + blank). The last two pages are signatured Hi, and in all the copies we have been able to examine, they occur as a single leaf attached by paste to the remainder of the work. This additional labour has to be taken into account in estimating the time occupied in the production of Hay any Worke, which also for other reasons, as we gather, was longer than was expected. The illness of his assistant while at Fawsley may have disorganised Waldegrave's arrangements. Steven, Sir Richard Knightley's servant, was despatched to Coventry for copies too soon by a week, and that notwithstanding the haste of John Hales to get the press away from his premises. Waldegrave stated, according to Henry Sharpe's evidence (*Harl. MSS.* [Baker's Transcripts] 7042.23), 'that one of Master Hales men kept him so closely at worke, that for that tyme, he had lyved as in a Prison, and could not have oftentymes warme meate.' The Tract occupied three weeks in printing and was put into circulation about March 22nd, 1589.

Hay any Worke owes its title to the appearance during the first days of January, 1588–9, of the official reply to the first attack of Marprelate. This was entitled *An Admonition to the People of England*, and was signed T. C., naturally suggesting the earlier *Admonitions* bearing the same initials, but written by the celebrated Puritan leader

Thomas Cartwright. The author of the present *Admonition*, however, was Thomas Cooper, Bishop of Winchester. Like all the official defences published by the hierarchy during the previous twenty years, it was a collaboration, the reputed author acting as editor to the contributions of the various episcopal disputants and revisers. Whitgift's replies to Cartwright in the controversy which followed the publication of the *Admonition to Parliament* were greatly delayed by sending the manuscript backward and forward to Archbishop Parker and the committee of bishops appointed to co-operate in the work of revision. In the present case the Archbishop was associated with the Bishops of London, Rochester and Lincoln in supervising Bishop Cooper's reply to Marprelate's EPISTLE, each bishop contributing a personal reply to the charges laid against him. This will explain why, published in January, 1589, the episcopal *Admonition* contains only the barest reference to the second 'Martin' which was in the hands of the bishops early in December.

Martin lost no time in taking up the episcopal challenge, adopting as his title a familiar London street cry, 'Ha' ye any work for the Cooper?' The time of the year is indicated in his opening lines where he refuses to tell the bishops where he is because, he says, 'I love not the air of the Clink or Gatehouse [two London prisons] in this cold time of Winter.'

Beyond the several replies of the Bishops concerned to the personal charges of Marprelate, the *Admonition* contains a general defence of the Episcopate in regard to their covetousness, the tyranny of their ecclesiastical courts, and their worldly ambitions. The Scriptural authority and the expediency of the State in supplying bishops with liberal incomes are set forth at large. But Martin tells the truth when he says to them—'You bestow not full fifty pages in the answer of anything that ever was published in print; the rest are bestowed to maintain the belly, and to confute —what think you?—even the slanderous inventions of your

own brains, for the most part.' The serious part of HAY ANY WORKE is devoted to setting forth the scriptural authority claimed by the Puritans for the rule of the Church by Pastors, Doctors, Elders and Deacons; which offices they contend are divinely ordained, and are integral elements of the body—*i.e.*, the Church, and cannot be changed by mere human choice.

A fresh crop of charges is preferred against the Church dignitaries and the clergy; the defence of the old charges offered in the *Admonition* is also severely examined. The reader will not fail to note the deepening opposition of the 'precise brethren,' who look askance at their champion. Oppressed though they be, the boisterous jocularity of Martin and his personal ridicule of the bishops offends their solemn sense of propriety. The self-defence of Marprelate in this respect is a noteworthy feature of HAY ANY WORKE. It completely reveals his personal attitude. There are matters on which he will not jest; but his course in his Tracts has been regular and lawful. Only by jesting could he draw the attention of the multitude to the actions of the Bishops. Therefore he used the weapon of fun and ridicule —though, he protests, he 'never profaned the Word in any jest.' 'The Lord being the author both of mirth and gravity, is it not lawful for the truth to use either of these ways, when the circumstances do make it lawful?'

The Archbishop, as the fountain-head of the forces of persecution, is not long absent from Martin's pages, but the edge of his invective, as in THE EPITOME, is turned against the meaner frailties and vices of Dr. John Aylmer, the Bishop of London. The Tract had been prepared hastily, but Martin, addressing the bishops, says it 'may serve for an answer unto the latter part of your book until MORE WORK FOR THE COOPER be published.'

The history of the production of the Tract will be found in the *Historical Introduction*; see pp. 180 f., '(13) The Coventry Pamphlets.'

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HAY ANY WORKE FOR COOPER (1).

Or a brief 'Pistle directed by way of an Hublication (2) to the Reverend Bishops, counselling them, if they will needs be barreled up for fear of smelling in the nostrils of Her Majesty and the State, that they would use the advice of Reverend MARTIN, for the providing of their Cooper. Because the Reverend T. C.—by which mystical letters is understood, either the bouncing Parson of Eastmeon or Tom Cokes his chaplain—hath showed himself in his late '*Admonition to the People of England*' (2) to be an unskilful and beceitful (3) tub-trimmer.

Wherein, worthy Martin quits himself like a man, I warrant you, in defence of his self and his learned 'Pistles, and makes the Cooper's hoops to fly off, and the Bishop's tubs to leak out of all cry (4).

Penned and Compiled by MARTIN the Metropolitan.

Printed in Europe, not far from some of the Bouncing Priests.

[See Notes overleaf]

(1) In the Introductory Notes to the present Tract the selection of the London street-cry, which may be found in Tempesta's curious volume on the *Cries of London,* is explained. Bishop Thomas Cooper of Winchester is further identified as the 'Parson of Eastmeane,' that is, of Eastmeon, near Petersfield, in Hants, no doubt one of his commendams. The alternative reference to 'Tom Cokes, his chaplain,' written below, p. 216, 'Thomas Cook,' is Martin's satirical suggestion as to the ability displayed in the writing of the episcopal *Admonition.* The other T. C., Tom Cokes, might well have written it.

(2) The words 'hath showed himself in his late *Admonition to the People of England* are omitted from the original title-page and are given in the 'Faults Escaped' at the close of the Tract.

(3) It is part of Martin's literary apparatus to assume from time to time the punning blunders of an illiterate rustic.

(4) Out of all measure.

Hay any worke for Cooper:

Or a briefe Bille directed by waye of an publication to the reuerende Bysshopps/ counselling them/ if they will needes be barrelled vp/ for feare of spoyling in the mistie of her Maiesties & the States/ that they would vse the aduise of reuerend Martin/ for the preseruing of theis Cooper. Because the reuerend T. C. (by which misticall letters/ is vnderstood/ either the learneful Parson of Baltmeane, or Tom Coates his Chaplaine) to bee an vnskilfull and a deceytfull Cultivinner.

Wherein Worthy Martin quits himselfe like a man, I warrant you/ in the modest defence of his false and his learned Pistles/ and makes the Coopers hoopes to flye off/ and the Bishops Tubs to leake out of all eye.

Penned and compiled by Martin the Metropolitane.

Printed in Europe/ not farre from some of the Bounding Bishops.

THE EPISTLE TO THE TERRIBLE PRIESTS

A Man of Worship to the Men of Worship; that is, Martin Marprelate, Gentleman, Primate, and Metropolitan of all the Martins wheresoever, to the John of all the Sir Johns (1), and to the rest of the terrible Priests, saith, Have among you, once again, my Clergy Masters! For—

O Brethren, there is such a deal of love grown of late, I perceive, between you and me that, although I would be negligent in sending my 'pistles unto you, yet I see you cannot forget me. I thought you to be very kind, when you sent your pursuivants about the country to seek for me. But now that you yourselves have taken the pains to write, this is out of all cry. Why, it passeth to think what loving and careful brethren I have; who, although I cannot be gotten to tell them where I am, because I love not the air of the Clink or Gatehouse (2) in this cold time of winter, and by

(1) *Sir* was a common title for a clergyman; the Shakespearean instances of Sir Hugh Evans in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* and Sir Topas in *The Twelfth Night* (where the name is borrowed from Chaucer's Sir Thopas) are familiar to everybody. It arose from the order of admitting to a degree at the Universities. The candidate was addressed in a formula beginning '*Domine* (and the candidate's name) *ego admitto te*,' &c. Then 'his name appeared in the University and College books with the prefix for that [*i.e.*, the Bachelor's] degree (in Latin *Dominus* contracted D^{s}; in English Sir, contracted Sr.)' See *Register of the Univ. of Oxford*, edited by Andrew Clark, M.A., Vol. II., Part I., p. 50. The lists at Cambridge are still published with the contraction D^{s}. Clergymen were supposed, at least in the pre-Elizabethan days, to possess the Bachelor's degree, and so were addressed by the title Sir, and as the equivalent of Dominus the title was also used where Saint is conventionally employed. The title 'Sir John' for clergymen generally, and especially for the inferior sort, was used more or less humorously. Thus in the following from William Tyndale, the martyr: 'The popes Kingdome is of the worlde. For there one sort one [one discriminates or distinguishes one as] youre grace / youre holynesse / youre fatherho[o]d: Another / master doctor / father / bacchelare / master person / master vicar / and at the last cometh in simple syr Jhon.'—*The Practyse of Prelates* (1530), Sig. B.

Martin himself enters into a half-serious defence of his practice of writing 'Sir' for 'Saint' later in this tract. See below, p. 224.

(2) For the Clink and Gatehouse, see *Hist. Intro.*, pp. 131 f. The reference to the winter agrees with the chronology of the Tracts. Bishop Cooper's *Admonition* was published in the first days of January, 1589, and the present Tract in March.

reason of my business in 'pistle-making, will notwithstanding, make it known unto the world that they have a month's mind (1) towards me. Now, truly, Brethren, I find you kind. Why, ye do not know what a pleasure you have done me. My Worship's books were unknown to many before you allowed T. C. to admonish the people of England to take heed that, if they loved you, they would make much of their prelates, and the chief of the clergy. Now, many seek after my books, more than ever they did. Again, some knew not that our Brother, John of Fulham, was so good unto the porter of his gate, as to make the poor, blind, honest soul to be a dumb minister (2). Many did not know, either, that 'Amen' is as much as 'By my faith!'; and, so, that our Saviour Christ ever sware by His faith. (3) Or, that bowling and eating on (4) the Sabbath are of the same nature; that bishops may as lawfully make blind guides as David might eat of the shewbread; or, that Father Thomas tub-trimmer of Winchester, good old student, is a Master of Arts of forty-five years' standing. (5)
A 2 Many, I say, | were ignorant of these things, and [of] many other pretty toys, until you wrote this pretty book. Besides, whatsoever you overpass in my writings, and did not gainsay, that I hope will be judged to be true. And so, John a'

(1) Month's mind = a yearning remembrance. See *Hist. Intro.*, 229, *n.*

(2) See further reference, p. 278.

(3) See p. 279.

(4) ℳ. 'of.'

(5) Martin has classed Bishop Cooper with the less learned bishops, THE EPISTLE, p. 87 (where the celebrated controversy with Dr. Sparke is mentioned), and p. 90 (where he accuses him of 'conveying' the learning of his *Thesaurus* from R. Stephanus' work); and Cooper replies that he 'hath not vsed (God bee thanked) to vaunt himselfe of great learning. Neyther doth he disdaine to be accounted vnlearned of these men, which many years since contemned Bishoppe *Jewell* as a man of no deepe learning, and euen of late daies could saye that *Erasmus* was no Diuine. His praier is, that the small measure of knowledge, which it pleased God to giue him in the continuance of fiftie yeeres studie, may be imployed to the glorie of God, and the benefite of his Countrey. It is knowen fiue and forty yeres since that he was Master of Arts, and Student of Diuinitie, and disputed in that facultie: since which time hee was neuer drawen from that exercise of good learning.'—*Admonition*, 72 verso (the separate pagination is omitted by a printer's error). See in the present Tract, p. 281, and the *Hist. Intro.*, 127, 165.

Bridges' treason (1), out of the 448th page of his book, you grant to be true. Yourselves you deny not to be petty popes. The Bishop of Sir David's, in Wales, you deny not to have two wives; with a hundred other things which you do not gainsay (2). So that the reader may judge that I am true of my word, and use not to lie like bishops. And this hath greatly commended my Worship's good dealing. But, in your confutation of my book, you have showed Reverend Martin to be truepenny (3) indeed; for you have confirmed rather than confuted him. So that, Brethren, the pleasure which you have done unto me is out of all scotch and notch (4). And why should I not again be as ready to pleasure you? Nay, then I should be as ungrateful towards my good brethren, as John of Canterbury is to Thomas Cartwright. The which John, although he hath been greatly favoured by the said Thomas, in that Thomas hath now, these many years, let him alone and said nothing unto him, for not answering his books (5), yet is not ashamed to make a secret comparison between himself and Thomas Cartwright. As who [should] say, John of Lambeth were as learned as Thomas Cartwright. What say you, old Dean John a' Bridges? Have you not showed yourself thankful unto her Majesty in overthrowing her supremacy in the 448th page of your book? I will lay on[e] load on your skin-coat for this gear, anon.

And I will have my pennyworths of all you brethren, ere I have done with you, for this pains which your T. C. hath taken with me. This is the Puritans' craft in procuring me to be confuted, I know (6). I'll be even with them, too. A

(1) See THE EPISTLE, p. 39.
(2) See THE EPISTLE, p. 50 (4).
(3) A staunch, hearty fellow, true to his purpose or pledge.
(4) Similar to 'out of all cry'—excessive, beyond measure.
(5) In the *Admonition to Parliament* controversy the *Second Replie* of T. C. remained unanswered by Whitgift.
(6) This may be literally true. Among those whom Martin sometimes refers to as the 'precise brethren,' were some who heartily disliked the form of his Tracts. Robert Browne, writing a few months earlier, bitterly complains of their persecution. 'In England also I haue found more wronge done me by the preachers of discipline then by anie the Byshops, / & more Lordly vsurping by them, then by the other. . . . For before my first voiag[e] beyond sea, & sence my last retourne, I have

crafty, whoresons brethren-bishops, did you think because the Puritans' T. C. did set John of Cant. at a *non-*
A 2 vers. *plus*, | and gave him the overthrow, that therefore your T. C., alias Thomas Cooper, Bishop of Winchester, or Thomas Cook (1), his chaplain, could set me at a *non-plus?* Simple fellows! methinks he should not.

I guess your T. C. to be Thomas Cooper, but I do not peremptorily affirm it, because the modest old student of fifty-two years' standing setteth Winchester after Lincoln and Rochester, in the Contents of his book; which blasphemy would not have been tolerated by them that saw and allowed the book, unless Mistress Cooper's husband had been the author of it (2).

Secondly, because this T. C., the author of this book, is a bishop, and therefore Thomas Cooper, he is a bishop, because he reckoneth himself charged, among others, with those crimes, whereof none are accused but bishops alone (page 101, line 26) (3). Ha! old Martin; yet I see thou hast it in thee, thou wilt enter into the bowels of the cause in hand, I perceive. Nay, if you will command me, I will give you more reasons yet. The style and the phrase is very like her husband's, that was sometimes wont to write unto Dr. Day of Wells. You see, I can do it, indeed. Again, none would be so grosshead as to gather, because my Reverence telleth Dean John that he shall have twenty fists about his ears more than his own, (whereby I

bene in more than twentie prisons / And for once imprisonment by the byshops, I haue bene more then thrise imprisoned by the preachers or their procuringe / '—'*A New Years Guift*,' edited for the Congregational Historical Society by Champlin Burrage, M.A. See below, p. 238, and especially p. 245, where Martin has the significant sentence, 'It is their [the Puritans'] weakness [that] I am threatened to be hanged by you [Bishops].'

(1) His name is given on the title-page as 'Tom Cokes.' He is probably to be identified with the Thomas Cook in the list of deacons ordained by the Bishop of London, April 25, 1560.—Strype's *Grindal*, 59.

(2) The scandel which led to Martin describing the Bishop of Winchester as Mistress Cooper's husband has been sufficiently alluded to in the Introduction. He was no doubt much to be pitied. Her association with Dr. Day is again referred to a few sentences further on.

(3) The charge is that the bishops uphold an unlearned ministry with various serious results issuing therefrom; the apologist, identifying himself with the accused bishops, trusts that God will 'regard the innocencie of our hearts.'

meant, indeed, that many would write against him, by reason of his 'bomination learning, which otherwise never meant to take pen in hand) that I threatened him with blows, and to deal by Stafford-law; whereas this was far from my meaning, and could by no means be gathered out of my words (1); but only by him that pronounced *eulojin* for *eulogein;* and by him whom a Papist made to believe that the Greek word *eulogein* (2), that is, *to give thanks*, signifieth to make a cross in the forehead. Py, hy, hy, hy! I cannot but laugh, Py, hy, hy, hy, hy! (3) I cannot but laugh to think that an old soaking | student in this learned age is not ashamed to be A 3
so impudent as to presume to deal with a Papist, when he hath no grue in his pocket (4). But, I promise you, sir, it is no shame to be a lord bishop if a man could, though he was as unlearned as John of Gloucester (5) or William of Lichfield (6). And I tell you true, our brother Westchester (7)

(1) See THE EPISTLE, p. 18, note (4), and present Tract, p. 246. Stafford-law' is a law identified popularly with other towns besides Stafford. It is the law of *force majeure;* you first hang your man and subsequently try him.

(2) Martin was unfortunate that while correcting the episcopal Greek his printer made him spell the word wrongly. In the original it is printed *eulogeni*. The transposition of the two last letters is corrected in the list of errata.

(3) Martin throughout the earlier Tracts tries to enlarge the use of written characters, to make them signify chuckling laughter and other signs of emotion.

(4) From an interesting note in Murray's *Dictionary* we extract the following: 'Grue is commonly taken to be O. F. *gru* = meal, grain (see Gruel). "Not a grue" has a curious likeness to the Greek οὐδὲ γρῦ, which appears in the Latin comedies as *ne gry quidem;* the difficulty is to know how it could have been adopted into M. English. Not a grue, no grue = not an atom, not a whit.'—It looks here as though Martin were punning, using the not infrequent expression 'no grue' to signify also 'no Greek.'

(5) John Bullingham. See THE EPISTLE, p. 70, note (1).

(6) William Overton. See THE EPISTLE, p. 90. Also THE EPITOME, p. 156, note (1), and the extended note there on his career.

(7) Not Winchester, as Petheram states, but Chester on the Dee, which in the 16th and 17th centuries was called West Chester; see Ogilby's *Travellers' Guide*, 1699, for instance. So John Penry, speaking of Wales, has 'from Chepstowe to Westchester (the whole compasse of our land).'—*Æquity*, 52. Lichfield was locally known during the same period as Chester, and there were many other towns, formerly Roman camps, bearing the name of Chester, which made it necessary to give the town on the Dee a distinguishing epithet. The Bishop was William Chaderton. He was under the patronage of the Earl of Leicester, and after entering upon the see of Chester he granted the

had as lief play twenty nobles in a night at primero on the cards as trouble himself with any pulpit labour; and yet he thinks himself to be a sufficient bishop. What, a bishop such a cardplayer? A bishop play twenty nobles in a night? Why, a round threepence serveth the turn to make good sport, three or four nights, among honest neighbours. And take heed of it, Brother Westchester; it is an unlawful game, if you will believe me (1). For (2), in winter it is no matter to take a little sport; for an odd cast, braces of twenty nobles; when the weather is foul [so] that men cannot go abroad to bowls, or to shoot. What, would you have men take no recreation? Yea; but it is an old-said saw, Enough is as good as a feast. And recreations must not be made a trade and an occupation, quoth (3) Master Martin Marprelate. I tell you true, Brother mine, though I have as good a gift in 'pistle-making as you have at primero, and far more delight than you can have at your cards, for the love I bear to my brethren; yet I dare not use this sport but as a recreation, not making any trade thereof. And cards, I tell you, though they be without horns, yet they are parlous

Earl the patronage of his archdeaconry for one turn. He appeared to enjoy the work of suppressing Romanists, and readily carried out the instructions of the Council to flog a young girl who professed to be inspired. He was unbending in his severity towards evangelical nonconformity. An anecodote quoted by White from Harington's *Briefe View* throws a sidelight on his character. He appealed to his patron for permission to marry, not caring to lose any chance of promotion and mindful of the Queen's dislike of married clergy. Harington, however, gives Overton's views of marriage as expressed in one of his sermons. 'The choice of a wife was full of hazard, not unlike as if one, in a barrell full of serpents, should grope for one fish: if he scape harm of the snakes and light on a fish, he may be thought fortunate, yet let him not boast, for perhaps it may be but an Eele.'—*Eliz. Bishops*, 265. Overton was a man of an overbearing and violent temper, and had on occasion to be corrected by the Privy Council.

(1) We only know from Martin that the Bishop was addicted to cardplaying and gambling. He must have been a more than usually careful player, for he died rich. Primero is said to have been the oldest of card games played in this country, but its rules are now only imperfectly known.

> 'Left him at primero
> With the Duke of Suffolk.'
> *King Hen. VIII.* v. 1 (*Cent. Dict.*).

(2) ℳ. Foe, by a printer's error.

(3) ℳ. ka.

beasts (1). Be they lawful or unlawful, take heed of them, for all that. For you cannot use them but you must needs say your brother T. C.'s 'Amen,' (2) that is, swear 'By your faith,' many a time in the night. Well, I will never stand arguing (3) the matter any more with you. If you will leave your cardplaying, so it is; if you will not, trust to it, it will be the worse for you.

I must go simply and plainly to work with my Brethren that have published *T. C.* Whosoever have publi | shed that book, they have so hooped the Bishops' tubs, that they have made them to smell far more odious than ever they did, even in the nostrils of all men. The book is of two hundred and fifty-two pages. The drift thereof is, to confute certain printed and published libels. You bestow not full fifty pages in the answer of anything that ever was published in print (4). The rest are bestowed to maintain the belly and to confute—what, think you? Even the slanderous inventions of your own brains, for the most part. As, that it is not lawful for her Majesty to allot any lands unto the maintenance of the minister; or, the minister to live upon lands, for this purpose allotted unto him (5), but is to content himself with a small pension, and so small as he have nothing to leave for his wife and children after him (for whom he is not to be careful, but to rest on God's providence); and is to require no more but food and raiment, that in poverty he might be answerable (6) unto our Saviour Christ and His apostles (7). In the confutation of these points, and the Scriptures corruptly applied to prove

A 3 vers

(1) Parlous seems to oscillate in meaning between *perilous* and *shrewd*, here inclining to the former.

(2) It should be Aylmer's; for T. C. only inserted the reply which Aylmer supplied. See THE EPISTLE, p. 22, note (2).

(3) Al. has 'argling,' a dialectic variation. The scotticism 'argle-bargle' means to bandy words, to haggle.

(4) The specific answers to Marprelate's charges and contentions in THE EPISTLE comprise pp. 33-73, inclusive, of the *Admonition* of the Bishops. For the number of pages contained in the edition used by Martin, see *Hist. Intro.*, 172, *n.*

(5) *Admonition* (Bishop Cooper's), 162 f.

(6) Comparable.

(7) *Admonition*, 144 ff.

them, there is bestowed above a hundred pages of this book, that is, from the 149th unto the end. Well, T. C., whosoever thou art, (and whosoever Martin is, neither thou, nor any man or woman in England shall know while you live, suspect and trouble as many as you will; and therefore, save your money in seeking for him, for it may be, he is nearer you than you are ware of) (1) but, whosoever thou art, I say, thou showest thyself to be a most notorious wicked slanderer, in fathering these things upon those whom they call Puritans; which never any, enjoying common-sense, would affirm. And bring me him, or set down his name and his reasons, that holdeth any of the former points confuted in thy book, and I will prove him to be utterly bereaved of his wits, and his confuter to be either stark mad, or a stark enemy to all religion; yea, to her Majesty and the State of
A 4 this Kingdom. No, no, T. C., Puri | tans hold no such points. It were well for bishops that their adversaries were thus sottish. They might then justly incense her Majesty and the State against them, if they were of this mind. These objections, in the confutation whereof thou hast bestowed so much time, are so far from having any Puritan to be their author that, as whosoever readeth the book, were he as blockheaded as Thomas of Winchester himself, he may easily know them to be objections only invented by the author of the book himself. For, although he be an impudent wretch, yet dareth he not set them down as the writings of any other; for then he would have described the author and the book by some adjunct (2).

The Puritans, indeed, hold it unlawful for a minister to have such temporal revenues as whereby then ministers might be well maintained; unless the said revenues come to him by inheritance.

They hold it also unlawful for any State to bestow the livings of many ministers upon one alone; especially when there is such want of ministers' livings.

(1) See present Tract, p. 245.
(2) *Ft.* adient.

They hold it unlawful for any minister to be lord over his brethren; and they hold it unlawful for any State to tolerate such under their government. Because it is unlawful for States to tolerate men in those places, whereinto the Word hath forbidden them to enter.

They affirm that our Saviour Christ hath forbidden all ministers to be lords (1) (Luke 22^{25}). And the Apostle Peter showeth them to be none of God's ministers which are lords over God's heritage, as you Bishops are and would be accounted. These things, T. C., you should have confuted, and not troubled yourself to execute the fruits of your own brains, as an enemy to the State. And in these points I do challenge you, T. C., and you, Dean John [Bridges], and you, John Whitgift, and you, Dr. Cosins (2), and you Dr. Capcase (Copcote (2) I think | your name be), and as A 4 vers. many else as have, or dare, write in defence of the established church government. If you cannot confute my former assertions, you do but in vain think to maintain yourselves by slanders, in fathering upon the Puritans the offsprings of your own blockheads. And, assure yourselves, I will so besoop (3) you, if you cannot defend yourselves in these points, as all the world shall cry shame upon you. You think prettily to escape the point of your antichristian callings, by giving out that Puritans hold it unlawful for her Majesty to leave any lands for the use of the minister's maintenance. I cannot but commend you; for, I promise you, you can shift off an heinous accusation very prettily.

A true man bringeth unanswerable witnesses against a

(1) The Geneva version used by the reforming party was more verbally useful in this connection. 'And he sayd vnto them, The kynges of the Gentiles raygne ouer them, and they that rule ouer them, are called gracious Lordes.' These words were always quoted along with the next following sentence, 'But ye shal not be so.'

(2) For Cosins and Copcote, see note to THE EPISTLE, p. 19. Later in the present Tract these names are cited, p. 233.

(3) Petheram explains, but without his usual references, this word to mean 'belabour.' The 'soople' is the heavy end of a flail, and its name may be the root of Martin's verb. See, in the present Tract, p. 235; and the verb 'besoop,' *ibid.*, p. 266.

robber by the highway side, and desireth the judge that the law may proceed against him. 'O no, my lord,' saith the thief, 'in any case let me not be dealt with. For these, mine accusers, have given out that you are a drunkard,' (or, 'they have committed treason against the State'); 'therefore, I pray you, believe my slander against them, that they may be executed. So, when I come to my trial, I shall be sure to have no accusers.'

A very pretty way to escape, if a man could tell how to bring the matter about. Now, Brethren Bishops, your manner of dealing is even the very same. The Puritans say truly that all lord bishops are petty antichrists; and, therefore, that the magistrates ought to thrust you out of the Commonwealth. 'Now, of all loves,' say the bishops, 'let not our places be called in question (1); but rather credit our slanders against the Puritans, whereby, if men would believe us when we lie, we would bear the world in hand (2) that these our accusers are malcontents and sottish men, holding it unlawful for the magistrate to allot any lands for the minister's portion, and unlawful for the minister to provide for his family. And therefore, you must
J3 1 not give ear to the ac | cusations of any such men against us. And so, we shall be sure to be acquitted.' But, Brethren, do you think to be thus cleared? Why, the Puritans hold no such points as you lay to their charge. Though [if] they did, as they do not, yet that were no sufficient reason why you, being petty popes, should be maintained in a Christian commonwealth. Answer the reasons that I brought against you; otherwise, 'come off, you Bishops, leave your thousands, and content yourselves with your hundreds' saith John of London (3). So that you do plainly see that your Cooper, T. C., is but a deceitful

(1) Let that be the last calamity to happen to us.

(2) This common Elizabethan figure of speech has already been seen in THE EPITOME, p. 146, *note* (1). It means, of course, 'to persuade,' but always with the implication that there is an element of deception in the persuasion.

(3) See the notorious passage from Aylmer's *Harborowe*, Sig. O 4 and vers., quoted in THE EPITOME, p. 149.

workman; and if you commit the hooping of your bishoprics unto him, they will so leak in a short space as they shall be able to keep never a lord bishop in them. And this may serve for an answer unto the latter part of your book, by way of an *interim*, until More Work for Cooper be published (1). | 16 vers.

HAY ANY WORKE FOR COOPER?

AND NOW, Reverend T. C., I am come to your Epistle to the Reader. But, first, you and I must go out alone into the plain fields, and there we will try it out, even by plain syllogisms, and that, I know, bishops cannot abide to hear of. 1

The Reverend T. C. to the Reader. Page 1.

I draw great danger upon myself in defending our bishops, and others, the chief of the clergy of the Church of England. Their adversaries are very eager; the saints in heaven have felt (of) their tongues, for when they speak of Paul, Peter, Mary etc., whom others justly call saints, they in derision call them, Sir Peter, Sir Paul, Sir Mary (2).

Reverend Martin.

Alas, poor, Reverend T. C. Be not afraid, here be none but friends, man. I hope thou art a good fellow, and a true subject. Yea, but I defend the bishops of the Church of England, saith he. Then, indeed, I marvel not though thy conscience accuse thee, and thou art sure to be as well-favouredly thwacked for thy labour as ever thou wast in thy life. Thy conscience, I say, must needs make thee fear in defending them. For they are petty popes, and petty antichrists, as I have proved; because they are pastor-of-pastors, &c. Thou has not answered my reasons,

(1) The Tract which later was seized while being printed at Manchester, and of which a brief description is given in The Protestatyon.

(2) This is a summary of Cooper's page, but quite accurate enough to make it unnecessary to quote his actual words.

and therefore swaddled (1) thou shalt be for thy pains. And yet, if thou wilt yield, I will spare thee. Thou canst not be a good and a sound subject, and defend the hierarchy of lord bishops to be lawful, as I will show anon. Concerning Sir Paul (2), I have him not at all in my writings. And therefore the reader must know that there is a Canterbury trick, once to patch up an accusation with a lie or two.

Sir Peter was the oversight of the printer, who omitting this marginal note, viz., *he* was not Saint Peter which had
2 a lawful, superior authority over the uni | versal body of the Church. And therefore the priest whereof Dean John speaketh was Sir Poter (3).

And, good Reverend T. C., I pray thee tell me what kin was Saint Mary Overie (4) to Mary the virgin? In my book-learning the one was some popish trull, and the other the Blessed Virgin. But will you have all those who are saints indeed, called saints? Why, then, do you not call Saint Abraham, Saint Sarah, Saint Jeremiah? If John of Canterbury should marry, tell me, good T. C., dost thou not think that he would not make choice of a godly woman? I hope a' would. And, T. C., though you are learned, yet you go beyond your books, if you said the contrary; being a godly woman, then she were a saint. And so, by your rule, her name being Mary, you would have her called Saint Mary Canterbury. But I promise thee, did his Grace what he could, I would call her Sir Mary Canterbury, as long as he professed himself to be a priest. And

(1) Beaten, cudgelled.

(2) See note on the origin of this usage earlier in the present Tract, p. 213, *note* (1).

(3) See THE EPISTLE, p. 40.

(4) St. Mary Overie, a famous Southwark church at this time, and frequently mentioned in the literature of the period. The name is a contraction of St. Mary 'over the way' or 'over the water,' that is on the south side of the Thames. The name has been lost through the merging of the adjoining small parishes into a new ecclesiastical area. First the parochial districts of St. Mary Magdalen and St. Margaret-on-the-hill were united. The fine old priory church of St. Mary Overie then became the church of the new parish, under the name of St. Saviours. It is the cathedral church of the new see of Southwark.—See Maitland's *Hist. of London*, Stowe's *Survey of London*, and Newton's *London in the Olden Time*.

this I might do lawfully. For he being Sir John, why should not his wife be Sir Mary? And why not Sir Mary Overie as well as Sir Mary Canterbury? I hope John of Canterbury, whom I know (though I know no great good in him) to be as honest a man as Mr. Overie was, whom I did not know. Neither is there any reason why you, T. C., should hold Mr. Overie, and his Mary, because they are within the diocese of Winchester, to be more honest than Mr. Canterbury and his wife. Nay, there is more reason why Mr. Canterbury and his wife, dwelling at Lambeth, should be thought the honester of the two, than Overie and his wife; because they dwell o' the Bank-side (1). But good Tom Tub-trimmer, tell me what you mean by the chief of the clergy in the Church of England? John Canterbury, I am sure. Why, good T. C., this speech is either blasphemous or traitorous, or, by your own confession an evident proof that John of Canterbury is | lord 3 over his brethren. He that is chief of the clergy, is chief of God's heritage; and that is Jesus Christ only. And so to make the Pope of Canterbury chief of God's heritage in this sense is blasphemous. If you mean by clergy, as Dean John doth (page 443 of his book), both the people and ministers of the Church of England; in this sense, her Majesty is chief of the clergy in the Church of England; and so your speech is traitorous. Lastly, if by clergy you

(1) Bankside, Southwark, between London Bridge and Blackfriars Bridge, had a very evil reputation. Gabriel Harvey, in his *Four Letters* (1592) mentions, in his indictment of Greene, 'his infamous resorting to Bankside . . . and other filthy haunts.'—*Archaica*, by Sir E. Brydges, vol. ij., p. 7. In the time of the Tudors it consisted of a single row of houses built on a bank or levee. At one end of the Bankside stood the Clink Prison, Winchester House (the Bishop's town house), and St. Mary Overie's. At the other end was the Falcon Tavern, and behind it were the Paris Gardens. A little to the west of the Clink and behind the houses stood the Globe Theatre, and close beside it the Bull Ring.—Besant's *London*, 356. In the old maps the riverside running westwards from Southwark Bridge is named 'Stew Bank,' after the candid fashion of the time. The careful reader will not need to be told that the Globe Theatre mentioned above was not erected at the date of the present Tract. The Globe was the 'new theatre' put up in 1596. Bankside was in the parish of St. Mary Overie; concerning it and its evil haunts, see further, THESES MARTINIANÆ, p. 310, *note* (1).

mean the ministers of the Church of England, none in this sense can be chief of the clergy, but a petty pope. For our Saviour Christ flatly forbiddeth any to be chief of the clergy in this sense (Luke 22[26]). And none ever claimed this unto himself, but a petty pope. Therefore, T. C., you are either by your own speech a blasphemer or a traitor; or, else John of Canterbury is a petty pope. Here is good spoon-meat for a Cooper. Take heed of writing against Martin, if you love your ease.

Reverend T. C. '*Page* 2, *Epistle.*' (1)

But 'I fear them not,' while I go about to maintain the dignity of priests.

Reverend Martin.

Well fare, good heart, yet! Stand to thy tackling, and get the High Commission to send abroad the pursuivants, and I warrant thee, thou wilt do something. Alas, good priests; that their dignity is like to fall to the ground. It is pity that it should be so, they are such notable pulpit men. There is a neighbour of ours, an honest priest, who was sometime (simple as he now stands) a Vice in a play, for want of a better. His name is Glibbery of Halstead (2) in Essex. He goes much to the pulpit. On a time, I think it was the last May, he went up with a full resolution to do his business with great commendations. But see the fortune of it. A boy in the church, hearing either the
4 Summer Lord with his May-game, or Robin Hood with | his Morris Dance, going by the church—out goes the boy. Good Glibbery, though he were in the pulpit, yet had a mind to his old companions abroad (a company of merry

(1) The brief epistle 'To the Reader.' Martin is summarising several sentences. The Bishop has quoted a sentence from Ambrose who was 'in case somewhat like' and said, *Non tanti est vnius vita, quanti est dignitas omnium sacerdotum.* Cooper was willing to be that one devoted life, if only thereby he could serve the greater cause of the dignity of the whole priesthood. But with rigorous censorship, the prisons, and the rack and the gallows at his disposal, he was not running over much risk.

(2) *M.* Hawsteade.

grigs, you must think them to be, as merry as a Vice on a stage), seeing the boy going out, finished his matter presently, with John of London's Amen; saying, 'Ha, ye faith, boy! Are they there? Then, ha' with thee.' And so, came down, and among them he goes. Were it not then pity that the dignity of such a priest should decay? And I would, gentle T. C., that you would take the pains to write a treatise against the boy with the red cap, which put this Glibbery out of his matter at another time (1). For

(1) Glibbery, of Halstead, in Essex, must have been an eccentric person even amongst the Elizabethan clergy. The reference to the games, however, brings vividly before us an outstanding feature in English life during the Middle Ages; surviving, but with diminishing respect, through the Tudor period and onwards, and faintly traceable in many country customs even to-day. To some extent the May-day revels, the Robin Hood show, and other public entertainments, such as the visit of some nobleman's *ursenarius* or bearward, were recognised as a public charge. In the reigns of Hen. VIII. and Edw. VI. grants are noted in the town records of Shrewsbury for the show of Lord Abbot of Markham—sometimes Marall, Mardol, or Mayvoll (May Fool)—the Lord of Misrule; and it is noted that the buffoon was generally a clerical character. In the records of the same ancient town we learn that in Mary's days grants were made for the representation of Robin Hood.

'Sol pro tunicis et aliis vestimentis ac pictura earunden pro Robyn Hood. Et in vino dat' eisdem int' lusoribs. (Paid for jackets and other vestments and the painting of the same for Robin Hood [59*s.* 2*d.*]. And in wine given to the same interluders [14*s.*].'

See Owen and Blakeway's *Hist. of Shrewsbury*, i., 333.

The connection between the Robin Hood play and the Morris—that is, Moresco or Moorish—Dance is obscure. A further note on the Robin Hood play will be found in THE JUST CENSURE AND REPROOF, p. 369, *note* (2) where one 'Anderson parson of Stepney' is accused of taking the Potter's part in the Play. The Vice takes us back to the old English Moralities, plays embodying some moral lesson, the ethical value of which may be gauged from the fact that usually the Vice was the buffoon of the interlude, representing either some specific vice, as envy, covetousness, &c., or vice in general. 'Now issued in from the reareward madam Vice or old Iniquitie, with a lath dagger painted according to old *Vice* in a comedy.'—Owle's *Almanacke* (1618), quoted by Nares. In further illustration of Martin's charge against Glibbery, Maskell quotes from a copy in his possession of 'Articles to be enquired of by the Church-wardens and Sworn-men within the Dioecesse of Lincoln, &c. 1585,'—four years earlier than the date of Martin's writing. The 27th article set down in this document by Bishop Wickham is 'Whether your Minister and Church-wardens haue suffred any Lords of misrule or sommer Lords, or Ladies or any disguised person [dressed, that is, in character] in Christmas, or at maigames, or morris dancers or at any other time, to come vnreuerently into the Churchyard, and there to daunce or play any vnsemely part with scoffs, iests, wanton gestures, or ribald talk, namely in the time of common praier: and what they be that commit such disorder or accompany or maintaine.'—*Martin Marprelate*, p. 96. The latter part of the article indicates why the games fell into disrepute.

Glibbery, being in the pulpit, so fastened his eyes upon a boy with a red cap, that he was clean dashed out of countenance; insomuch that no note could be heard from him at that time, but this. 'Take away red-cap there! Take away, red-cap there! It had been better that he had never been born. He hath marred such a sermon this day, as it is wonderful to think. The Queen and the Council might well have heard it for a good sermon'; and so came down. An Admonition to the People of England to take heed of boys with red caps, which make them set light by the dignity of their priests would do good in this time, Brother T. C., you know well.

Reverend T. C.

You may hereby perceive that T. C. is a bishop.

The cause why we are so spited, is because we do endeavour to maintain the laws which her Majesty and the whole State of the Realm have allowed, and do not admit a new platform of government, devised I know not by whom (1).

Reverend Martin.

Why, T. C., say *Eulojin* for *Eulogein* as often as you will (2); and I will never spite you, or the Bishop of Winchester either, for the matter. But, do you think our church government, to be good and lawful, because | her Majestie and the State, who maintain the Reformed Religion, alloweth the same? Why, the Lord doth not allow it; therefore it cannot be lawful. And it is the fault of such wretches as you Bishops are, that her Majesty and the State alloweth the same. For you should have otherwise instructed them. They know you not yet as thoroughly as I do. So that, if I can prove that the Lord disliketh our church government, your endeavours to maintain the same show that thereby you cannot choose but be traitors to God and His Word, whatsoever you are to her Majesty and the State. Now, T. C., look to yourself, for I will presently

(1) A slightly compressed quotation from the epistle 'To the Reader.'
(2) See above, p. 217.

make all the hoops of your bishopricks fly asunder. Therefore,

Our church government is an unlawful church government, and not allowed in the sight of God.

Because, that church government is an unlawful church government, the offices and officers whereof the civil magistrate may lawfully abolish out of the church. (Mark my craft in reasoning, Brother T. C.) I say the offices and officers, for, I grant that the magistrate may thrust the officers of a lawful church government out of the church if they be Diotrepheses, Mar-Elms (1), Whitgifts, Simon Maguses (2), Coopers, Pernes (3), Reynoldses (4), or any such like Judases (though the most of these must be packing offices and all) but their offices must stand, that the same may be supplied by honester men. But the offices of archbishops and bishops, and, therefore, the officers much more, may be lawfully abolished out of the church by her Majesty and our State. And truly this were brave weather to turn them out (5); it is pity to keep them in any longer. And that would do me good at the heart, to see John of London (and the rest of his brethren) so discharged of his business, as he might freely run in his cassock and hose after his bowl, or flourish with his two hand sword. O, 'tis a sweet trunch- 6
fiddle (6).

But the offices of archbishops and bishops may be lawfully abolished out of the church by her Majesty and the State; as I hope one day they shall be. Therefore—mark, now, T. C., and carry me this conclusion to John o' Lambeth for his breakfast—our church government by archbishops and bishops is an unlawful church government. You see,

(1) Aylmers.
(2) M. Maugustes.
(3) Andrew Perne, Whitgift's early patron; the 'old Turncoat.' See *Hist. Intro.*, 113.
(4) William Reynolds, 'the Papist of Rheims.' See THE EPISTLE, p. 56, *note* (1), p. 97.
(5) The special cold wintry weather during which he was writing.
(6) A short stumpy fiddle; Aylmer was a short, stumpy man. For this reason his attack on Squire, his son-in-law, was regarded as a sign of physical courage.

Brother Cooper, that I am very courteous in my minor; for I desire therein no more offices to be thrust out of the church at one time but archbishops and bishops. As for deans, archdeacons and chancellors, I hope they will be so kind unto my Lord's Grace as not to stay, if his Worship and the rest of the noble clergy-lords were turned out to grass. I will presently prove both major and minor of this syllogism. And, hold my cloak, there, somebody, that I may go roundly to work. For I'se so bumfeg (1) the Cooper, as he had been better to have hooped half the tubs in Winchester, then write against my Worship's 'pistles.

No civil magistrate may lawfully either maim or deforme the body of Christ, which is the Church; but whosoever doth abolish any lawful church officer out of the Church government, he doth either maim or deform the Church. Therefore, T. C., no civil magistrate, no prince, no state, may, without sin, abolish any lawful officer, together with his office, out of the government of the Church; and *per consequens* (2), the offices of archbishops and lord bishops, which her Majesty may without sin lawfully abolish out of the church, are no lawful church officers; and therefore, also, the church government practised by John Whitgift, John Mar-elm, Richard Peterborough (3), William of Lincoln (4), Edmond of Worcester (5), yea, and by that old stealcounter (6) mass-priest, John o' Gloucester (7), with the rest of his brethren, is to be presently thrust out of the

(1) We have not found a second example of this word, which does not occur in the glossaries. Probably a contemptuous colloquialism for a sound trouncing. Feg is perhaps akin to feck (cp. feckless), denoting activity, and, in the north, to shie, or kick. The first syllable needs no explanation.

(2) ℔. *per consequence.*

(3) Richard Howland.

(4) William Wickham.

(5) Edmond Freke.

(6) Explained to signify a mean thief, a stealer of worthless counters.

(7) John Bullingham. The 'mass-priest,' it will be remembered, fled to the continent upon the accession of Edward, and returned when Catholic Mary came to the throne. See THE EPISTLE, pp. 70, *note* (1), 90, 97.

Church. And methinks this geare cot | tons (1) indeed, my 7
masters. And I told you, T. C., that you should be thumped for defending bishops. Take heed of me while you live. The minor of my last syllogism, that whosoever doth abolish the office of any lawful church officer out of the church, he either maimeth or deformeth the Church, I can prove with a wet finger (2). Because every lawful Church officer, even by reason of his office, is a member of the body of Christ Jesus, which is the Church ; and, being a member of the body, if the magistrate doth displace him, by abolishing his office, and leaveth the place thereof void, then the magistrate maimeth the body. If he put another office unto an officer instead thereof, he deformeth the same. Because the magistrate hath neither the skill nor the commission to make the members of the body of Christ. Because he cannot tell to what use the members of his making may serve in the Church. Do you think, T. C., that the magistrate may make an eye for the visible body of the church? (For you must understand that we all this while speak of the visible body). Can he make a foot or a hand for that body? I pray you, in what place of the body would you have them placed? If our Saviour Christ hath left behind him a perfect body, surely, He hath left therein no place, or no use, for members of the magistrate's making and invention ; if an unperfect and maimed body, I am well assured that the magistrate is not able to perfect that which He left unfinished. But I hope, T. C., that thou wilt not be so mad and wicked as to say that our Saviour Christ left behind Him, here on earth, an unperfect and maimed body. If not, then where shall these offices, namely,

(1) *Geare* answers to our general-utility word *thing;* cotton = to get on well, succeed, prosper (Halliwell).

'Still, Mistres Dorothy ! this geer will cotton.'

Beaumont and Fletcher, quoted by Petheram in his notes.

(2) With ease, with little effort. 'Probably from the practice of wetting the finger to facilitate . . . turning over the leaf of a book.

'Walk you here ; I'll beckon ; you shall see
I'll fetch her with a wet finger.'

Dekker and Webster, *Westward Ho.* ii., 2 (*Cent. Dict.*).

these members invented by the magistrate, be placed therein?

Would you have the natural eyes put out (as your brethren, the Bishops, have done in the Church of England, ever since John of Canterbury urged his wretched subscription), and unnatural, squint-goggled eyes put in
8 | their stead, when the body cannot see with any eyes but with the natural eyes thereof? Displace them, howsoever you may seem to help the matter, by putting others in their stead, yet the body shall be still blind and maimed. What say you, T. C., may the magistrate cut off the true and natural legs and hands of the body of Christ, under a pretence to put wooden in their stead? I hope you will not say that he may. How then cometh it to pass, T. C., that you hold John of Canterbury's office, and John Mar-Elm's, to be true and natural members of the body, that is, true officers of the Church, and yet hold it lawful for her Majesty to displace them out of the church? I cannot tell, Brother, what you hold in this point. Methink I have disturbed your senses. Do you think that the magistrate may displace the true members of the body of Christ, and place wooden in their stead? Why this is to hold it lawful for the magistrate to massacre the body. Do you think he may not? Then may not her Majesty displace John of Canterbury's office out of our church? If she may not displace his office, then, either he, by virtue of his office, is a lawful pope, above all civil magistrates, or else, the church government is so prescribed in the Word, as it is not lawful for the magistrate to alter the same. But John of Canterbury, as the Puritans theirselves confess, is no pope. Then either the church government is so prescribed in the Word as it may not be altered, or else, the magistrate may abolish a lawful church government, and place another instead thereof. If the church government be so prescribed in the Word as it cannot be altered, then, either our government is the same which was therein prescribed, or, our church government is a false church government. If ours

Puritans confess John Cant. to be no Pope.

be the same which is mentioned in the Word, then Paul and Peter were either no true church governors, or else, Paul and Peter and the rest of church governors in their time were | lords; for all our church governors are lords. 9 But Paul and Peter, &c, were no lords, and yet true church governors. Therefore, our church government is not that which is prescribed in the Word; and therefore a false and unlawful church government. If you think that the magistrate may displace the lawful offices of the body, then, as I said before, you hold it lawful for the magistrate to maim and deform the body. Because whatsoever he putteth (1) in the room of the true and right members must needs be a deformity, and what place soever he leaveth unfurnished of a member must needs be a maim. And this is the only and sole office of Christ only, to place and displace the members of His body; to wit, the officers of His Church. He may lawfully do it; so cannot man. And therefore the sots (of which number you, T. C., and you, John Whitgift, and you, Dean John, and you, Dr. Cosins, and you, Dr. Copcote (2), with the rest of the ignorant and wretched defenders of our corrupt church government, are to be accounted) which think that the offices of pastors and doctors, elders and deacons, or the most of them, may be as well now wanting in the Church as the offices of Apostles, Prophets and Evangelists, do notably bewray their vile ignorance; but the cause they do not hurt. For the beasts do not consider that the offices of Apostles, Evangelists and Prophets were removed out of the Church not by man, but by the Lord; because He in His wisdom did not see any use of such members in His body, after the time of the first planting of the Church. I say they were removed by the Lord Himself, and not by man; because, partly the gifts wherewith they were endued, partly the largeness of their commission, with certain other essential properties to them belonging, were by Him abrogated, and

The Apostles chose none in the stead of James (being beheaded) as they did instead of Judas (Acts 1); which they

(1) M. pulleth—by a misprint.
(2) See present Tract, p. 221, and THE EPISTLE, p. 20, *note* (2).

would have done, if the apostolical calling had been permanent.

taken away; which no man could do. Again the apostolical, evangelical, and prophetical callings were either | lawfully or unlawfully abolished out of the church; if lawfully, then they were abolished by the Lord; and therefore they are neither to be called back until He showeth it to be His pleasure that it should be so, neither can the Church be truly said to be maimed for want of them; because He which could best tell what members were fit for His church did abolish them. If unlawfully, then those callings may be lawfully called back again into the church, and the church without them is maimed; that is, wanteth some members. For if their callings were injuriously abrogated, they are as injuriously kept out of the Church; and, being members of the Church, the church is maimed without, unless the Lord hath shewed that the time of their service in the body is expired. But they are not injuriously kept out (for so her Majesty should be said to injury (1) the Church, unless she would see apostles, prophets, and evangelists planted therein) neither can the Church be said to be maimed for want of them; because the Lord, by taking them away, hath declared that now there can be no use of them in the body; therefore the Lord abrogated them. Therefore also they may be wanting, and the Church neither maimed nor deformed thereby. Whereas the keeping out of either of the former offices of pastors, doctors, elders, and deacons, is a maiming of the church, the placing of others in their stead, a deforming. Now, reverend T. C., I beseech you, entreat Mistress Cooper to write to Master Dr. Day, sometime (2) of Magdalen's (3),

(1) This use of a noun-form as a verb is part of that interchange of the parts of speech which is recognised as a characteristic of the English language in that age and finds abundant illustration in Shakespeare. Dr. Abbott (*Shakespearan Grammar*) observes that almost any part of speech can be used as any other part of speech.—See below, p. 256.

(2) *sometime*, sometimes.

(3) Martin here wantonly touches a very sore spot. Mrs. Cooper appears to have been a woman of ungovernable temper, one who in an access of rage would cast his manuscripts into the fire, and, still worse, was of a profligate character. Martin elsewhere refers to the

that he may procure (1) Dr. Cooper, to know of him that was last Thomas of Lincoln, whether the now Bishop of Winchester be not persuaded that reverend Martin hath sufficiently proved it to be unlawful for the civil magistrate to abolish any lawful church officer out of the Church. Because it is unlawful for him to maim or deform the body of Christ, by displacing the members thereof. But, it may be, your Cooper's noddle, | profane T. C. doubteth—for I 11
know you to be as ignorant in these points as John Whitgift or Dean John their selves. *Whether a lawful church officer, in regard of his office, be a member of the body of Christ, which is the church.*

Therefore look Rom. 12 verses 4, 5, &c., and there you shall see that, whosoever hath an office in the body is a member of the body. There also you shall see that he that teacheth, which is the Doctor, he that exhorteth, which is the Pastor, he that ruleth, which is the Elder, he that distributeth, which is the Deacon (as for him that showeth mercy, that is there spoken of, he is but a church servant, and no church officer), there, I say, you shall also see that these four offices of Pastors, Doctors, Elders and Deacons are members of the body; and [in] 1 Cor. 12 verses 8 and 28 you shall see that God hath ordained them. Out of all which hitherto I have spoken, T. C., I come upon you, and your bishoprics with four or five (yea half a dozen and need be) such dry soops (2), as John of London, with his two-hand sword never gave the like. For they answer your whole profane book. *First*, that the platform of government

scandal which associated her with Dr. Day, Canon of Christ Church, Oxon, sometime fellow of All Souls, who had to be bound in £100 not to come near her. Cooper is said to have utterly refused the offer of certain eminent persons to procure him a divorce. He was no doubt greatly to be commiserated; though compassion for him was somewhat restrained by his severe persecution of female recusants. It is noted that his predecessor, Bishop Watson, very firmly refused to do so. See White's *Eliz. Bishops*, 190, 270; Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, i., 610, where some 'not over decent' doggerel verses of the day are quoted.

(1) Persuade.

(2) See for this word in the present Tract, p. 221, *note* (3). Also 'besoop,' *ibid.*, p. 266.

by pastors, doctors, elders and deacons, which you say was devised you know not by whom, is the intention of our Saviour Christ. For God ordained them, saith the apostle, 1 Cor. $12^{8, 28}$. And therefore, unless you will show yourself either to be a blasphemer, by terming Jesus Christ to be 'you cannot tell whom'; or else to be ignorant who is Jesus Christ; you must needs acknowledge the platform of government, which you say was invented by 'you know not whom,' to have Christ Jesus for the author thereof (1).

Secondly, that the Word of God teacheth that of necessity the government by pastors, doctors, elders, &c., ought to be in every church, which is neither maimed nor deformed. Because that church must needs be maimed | which wanteth those members which the Lord hath appointed to be therein; unless the Lord Himself hath, by taking those members away, showed that now His body is to have no use of them. But, as hath been said, God hath ordained pastors, doctors, elders, and deacons to be in His Church; proved out of Rom. $12^{6, 7, 8}$, 1 Cor. $12^{8, 28}$, Eph. 4^{12}. And He hath not taken these officers away out of His Church, because the Church hath continual need of them. As, of pastors to feed with the word of wisdom; of the doctors to feed with the word of knowledge; and both to build up the body in the unity of faith; of elders to watch and oversee men's manners; of deacons to look unto the poor, and church treasury. Therefore, where these four officers are wanting, there the Church is imperfect in her regiment (2).

This T. Cooper gainsayeth page 2 of his *Epistle*.

12

Thirdly, that this government cannot be inconvenient for any state or kingdom (3). For is it inconvenient for a state or kingdom to have the body of Christ perfect therein?

T. Cooper saith it is, page 2nd, [of his] *Epistle*.

(1) Cooper declares that the reason why the bishops are discredited is that 'liuing in the state of a Church refourmed' they abide by her Majesty's laws 'and doe not admitte a newe platforme of gouernment, deuised I knowe not by whome.'—Intro. Epistle, *Admonition*.

(2) Rule or organisation.

(3) Cooper asserts that apart from the absence of 'proofe brought out of the word of God' such a form of church government 'would bring so many alterations and inconueniences, as in our opinion would bee dangerous to the Prince and the Realme.'—Epistle to the *Admonition*.

Fourthly, that every Christian magistrate (1) is bound to receive this government by pastors, doctors, elders and deacons into the Church within his dominions, whatsoever inconvenience may be likely to follow the receiving of it. Because no likelihood of inconvenience ought to induce the magistrate willingly to permit the Church under his government to be maimed or deformed.

Fifthly, that the government of the Church by lord archbishops and bishops is a government of deformed and unshapen members, serving no good use in the Church of God. Because it is not the government by pastors, doctors, elders and deacons; which, as I have showed, are now the only true members, that is, the only true officers of the visible body.

Sixthly, and lastly, that they who defend this false and bastardly government of archbishops and bishops, and | with- 13
stand this true and natural government of the Church by pastors, doctors, elders, and deacons are likely, in a while, to become Mar-prince, Mar-state, Mar-law, Mar-magistrate, Mar-commonwealth. As for Mar-church and Mar-religion, [these] they have long since proved themselves to be.

These six points do necessarily follow of that which before I have set down, namely, that it is not lawful for any to abolish or alter the true and lawful government of the Church, because it is not lawful for them to maime or deforme the body of the Church.

And I challenge you, T.C., and you, Dean John, and you, John Whitgift, and you, Dr Cosins, and you, Dr. Copcot, and all the rest that will, or dare, defend our established church government, to be tried with me in a judgment of life and death, at any bar in England, in this point. Namely,

That you must needs be, not only traitors to God and His Word, but also enemies unto her Majesty and the land, in defending the established church government to be lawful.

(1) The *magistrate* in this connection always denotes the secular governing power.

You see the accusation which I lay to your charge, and here followeth the proof of it. They who defend that the Prince and the State may bid God to battle against them, they are not only traitors against God and His Word, but also enemies to the Prince and the State. I think John of Gloucester himself will not be so senseless as to deny this.

But our archbishops and bishops, which hold it lawful for her Majesty and the State to retain this established form of government, and to keep out the government by pastors, doctors, elders and deacons, which was appointed by Christ, whom you, profane T.C., call 'you know not whom,' hold it lawful for her Majesty and the State to bid God to battle against them. Because they bid the Lord to
14 battle against them which main and deform | the body of Christ; viz., the Church. And they, as was declared maim and deform the body of the Church, which keep out the lawful office[r]s, appointed by the Lord to be members thereof, and, in their stead, place other wooden members of the invention of man. Therefore you, T.C., and you Dean John, and you John Whitgift, and you, the rest of the beastly defenders of the corrupt church government, are not only traitors to God and His Word, but enemies to her Majesty and the State. Like you any of these *nuts*, John Canterbury?

I am not disposed to jest in this serious matter. I am called Martin Marprelate. There be many that greatly dislike my doings (1). I may have my wants (2) I know;

(1) That is, of course, many of those opposed to the Elizabethan hierarchy; the dislike of the latter went without saying. Cartwright, the greatest of the 'precise brethren,' represented the feeling of that section very generally in repudiating Martin. Addressing Burghley on Oct. 4, 1590, he avers that he has not since the writing of his last book, 'which was thirteen years ago,' written or procured to be printed anything offensive to her Majesty or the State, 'much less had any hand, or so much as a finger in the book under Martins name.' The Anti-Martins have been libelling him. 'Yet,' he says, 'I am hable to make good proof that from the beginning of Martin unto this day, I have continually upon any occasion, testified both my mislike and sorrow for such kind of disordered proceeding.'—Strype's *Whitgift*, App. III., 231, 232. See above, p. 215, *note* (6).

(2) Deficiencies.

for I am a man. But my course I know to be ordinary (1) and lawful. I saw the cause of Christ's government, and of the Bishops' antichristian dealing to be hidden. The most part of men could not be gotten to read anything written in the defence of the one, and against the other. I bethought me, therefore, of a way whereby men might be drawn to do both; perceiving the humours of men in these times (especially of those that are in any place) to be given to mirth. I took that course. I might lawfully do it. Aye, for jesting is lawful by circumstances, even in the greatest matters. The circumstances of time, place, and persons urged me thereunto. I never profaned the Word in any jest. Other mirth I used as a covert (2), wherein I would bring the truth into light. The Lord being the author both of mirth and gravity, is it not lawful in itself, for the truth to use either of these ways, when the circumstances do make it lawful?

My purpose was, and is, to do good. I know I have done no harm, howsoever some may judge Martin to mar all (3). They are very weak ones that so think. In that which I have written, I know undoubtedly that I have done the Lord, and the State of this Kingdom, great service. Because I have in some sort discovered (4) the greatest enemies | thereof. 15
And, by so much the most pestilent enemies, because they wound God's religion, and corrupt the State with atheism and looseness, and so call for God's vengeance upon us all, even under the colour of religion. I affirm them to be the greatest enemies that now our State hath; for if it were not for them, the truth should have more free passage herein,

(1) According to order or rule; an illustration of the tendency among scholarly men of the time to use, in their original Latin significance, words which had already gained a modified and distinct meaning on being adopted into the English tongue.

(2) A piece of strategy; as in the phrase 'under cover of'; the root word implies secrecy.

(3) 'I feare he wil proue himselfe to bee not onely *Mar-prelate* but *Mar-prince, Mar-State, Mar-lawe, Mar-magistrate,* and all together,' is Cooper's judgment (*Admonition,* 36), and many of the 'precisians' agreed with him.

(4) Revealed.

than now it hath. All states thereby would be amended. And so, we should not be subject unto God's displeasure, as now we are by reason of them.

Now let me deal with these that are in authority. I do make it known unto them, that our Bishops are the greatest enemies which we have. For they do not only go about, but they have long since fully persuaded our State that they may lawfully procure (1) the Lord to take the sword in hand against the State (2). If this be true, have I not said truly that they are the greatest enemies which our State hath? The Papists work no such effect, for they are not trusted. The atheists have not infected our whole State; these have. The attempts of our foreign enemies may be pernicious, but they are men as we are. But that God, with whom (3) our bishops have [made], and do make our Prince, and our governors to wage war, who is able to stand against Him?

Well, to the point; many have put her Majesty, the Parliament, and Council, in mind, that the church officers now among us are not such as the Lord alloweth of; because they are not of his own ordaining. They have showed that this fault is to be amended, or the Lord's hand to be looked for. The bishops on the other side, have cried out upon them that have thus dutifully moved the State. They with a loud voice gave out that the magistrate may lawfully maintain that church government which best fitteth our Estate as living in the time of peace. What do they else herein, but say that the magistrate in the time of peace, may maim and deform the body of Christ's Church? That
16 Christ has left | the government of His own house unperfect,

(1) Persuade. *Vide*, p. 249, *note* (1).

(2) The argument is slightly obscure. The hierarchy, Martin contends, have persuaded the civil authority to 'wound God's religion' by establishing 'offices and officers' not divinely authorised, and by filling the pulpits with 'atheism and looseness.' This compels the Lord to administer punishment, though the bishops aver that their advice is lawful.

(3) MS. 'which when'; clearly a printer's error. The above correction is suggested in a MS. note in the Lambeth copy of this Tract.

and left the same to the discretion of the magistrate; whereas, Moses, before whom in this point of government, the Lord Christ is justly preferred (Heb. 3^6) made the government of the legal polity so perfect, as He left not any part thereof to the discretion of the magistrate. Can they deny church officers to be members of the church? They are refuted by the express text, 1 Cor. 12. Will they affirm Christ to have left behind Him an unperfect body of His church, wanting members; at the leastwise, having such members as were only permanent at the magistrate's pleasure? Why, Moses, the servant, otherwise governed the house in his time. And the Son is commended in this point for wisdom and faithfulness before him (Heb. 3^6). Either, then, that commendation of the Son before the servant is a false testimony, or the Son ordained a perfect government in His church. If permanent, not to be changed. What then do they that hold [that] it may be changed at the magistrate's pleasure, but advise the magistrate by his positive laws to proclaim that it is his will, that if there shall be a church within his dominions, he will maim and deform the same? He will ordain therein what members he thinketh good. He will make it known that Christ under his government shall be made less faithful than Moses was; that He hath left the placing of members in His body unto the magistrate. O cursed beasts, that bring this guilt upon our Estate! Repent, caitiffs, while you have time. You shall not have it, I fear, when you will. And look, you that are in authority, unto the equity of the controversy between our wicked bishops, and those who would have the disorders of our church amended. Take heed you be not carried away with slanders. Christ's government is neither Mar-Prince, Mar-State, Mar-Law, nor Mar-Magistrate (1). The living God | whose cause is pleaded for will be revenged 17
of you, if you give ear unto this slander, contrary to so many testimonies as are brought out of His Word, to prove the contrary. He denounceth His wrath against all you that

(1) See the quotation from the *Admonition*, above, p. 239, *note* (3).

think it lawful to maim or deform His church; He accounteth His church maimed when those office[r]s that are therein placed, which He hath not appointed to be members thereof. He also testifieth that there be no members of His appointment in the church, but such as He Himself hath named in His Word; and those that He hath named, man must not displace; for so he should put the body out of joint. Now, our Bishops, holding the contrary, and bearing you in hand (1), that you may practise the contrary, do they not drive you to provoke the Lord to anger against your own souls? And are they not your enemies? They hold the contrary, I say; for they say that her Majesty may alter this government now established, and thereby they show either this government to be unlawful, or that the magistrate may presume to place those members in God's church, which the Lord never mentioned in His Word. And, I beseech you, mark how the case standeth between these wretches and those whom they call Puritans.

1. The Puritans (falsely so called) show it to be unlawful for the magistrate to go about to make any members for the body of Christ.

2. They hold all officers of the church to be members of the body (Rom. 12^{6}; 1 Cor. $12^{8,28}$).

3. And therefore they hold the altering, or the abolishing, of the offices of church government to be the altering and abolishing of the members of the Church.

4. For the altering and abolishing of which members they hold to be unlawful, because it must needs be a maim unto the body.

18 5. They hold Christ Jesus to have set down as exact, | and as unchangeable, a church government as ever Moses did (Heb. 3^{6}).

These, and such like, are the points they hold. Let their cause be tried, and if they hold any other points, in effect, but these, let them be hanged every man of them. Now, I demand, whether they that hold the contrary in these points,

(1) Hoodwinking you. See THE EPITOME, p. 221.

and cause the State to practise the contrary, be not outrageous wicked men, and dangerous enemies of the State? It cannot be denied but they are. Because the contrary practice of any of the former points is the way to work the ruin of the State.

Now, our Bishops hold the contrary unto them all, save the 2nd and 3rd points (1); whereunto it may be they will yield, and cause our Estate to practise the contrary; whence at (the) length, our destruction is like to proceed. For,

1. They deny Christ Jesus to have set down as exact, and as unchangeable, a form of church government as Moses did. For they say that the magistrate may change the church government established by Christ, so could he not do that prescribed by Moses.

2. In holding all offices of the Church to be members of the body (for if they be not members what should they do in the body?) they hold it lawful for the magistrate to attempt the making of new members for that body.

3. The alteration or abolishing of these members by the magistrates, they hold to be lawful; and, therefore, the maiming or deforming [to be lawful].

Now, you wretches (archbishops and lord bishops, I mean), you Mar-State, Mar-Law, Mar-Prince, Mar-Magistrate, Mar-Commonwealth, Mar-Church, and Mar-Religion! Are you able for your lives to answer any part of the former syllogism, whereby you are concluded to be the greatest enemies to her Majesty and the State? You dare not attempt it, I know. For you cannot deny but they who hold it and defend it [to be] lawful (yea, enforce the | magis- 19
trate) to maim or deform the body of Christ, are utter enemies unto that magistrate and that State wherein that disorder is practised. You cannot deny yourselves to do this unto our magistrate and State; because you bear them in hand (2) that a lawful church government may consist of those offices which the magistrate may abolish out of the

(1) M. 'the 3 and 2 points.'
(2) See previous page and *note* (1).

Church, without sin; and so, that the magistrate may lawfully cut off the members of Christ from His body, and so may lawfully massacre the body.

You are, then, the men by whom our Estate is most likely to be overthrown; you are those that shall answer for our blood, which the Spaniard or any other enemies are like to spill (1), without the Lord's great mercy; you are the persecutors of your brethren, (if you may be accounted brethren); you and your hirelings are not only the wound, but the very plague and pestilence of our Church. You are those who maim, deform, vex, persecute, grieve, and wound the Church; which keep the same in captivity and darkness, defend the blind leaders of the blind, slander, revile and deform Christ's holy government, that such broken and wooden members as you are may be still maintained to have the rooms (2) of the true and natural members of the body. Tell me, I pray, whether the true and natural members of the body may be lawfully cut of[f] by the magistrate? If you should say they may, I know no man would abide the speech. What! May the magistrate cut off the true and natural members of the body of Christ? O, impudency, not to be tolerated! But our magistrate, that is, her Majesty, and our State may lawfully, by your own confession, cut you of[f], that is, displace you and your offices out of our Church. Deny this, if you dare. Then, indeed, it shall appear that John of Canterbury means to be a pope indeed, and to have the sovereignty over the civil magistrate. Then will you show yourself, indeed, to be Mar-Prince, Mar-Law
20 and Mar-State. | Now, if the magistrate may displace you as he may, then you are not the true members. Then you are (as, indeed, you ought to be) thrust out, unless the magistrate would incur the wrath of God for maiming and

(1) The sentence is not perfectly lucid. Martin's contention is, that if the Spaniard or any other foe spilt the blood of the nation and overthrew the State, the responsibility would lie upon the Bishops for bringing such judgments upon the country—judgments that are sure to come 'without—i.e., apart from—the Lord's great mercy,' which alone can prevent them.

(2) Places.

deforming the body of the Church, by joining unnatural members thereunto.

Answer but this reason of mine, and then hang those that seek reformation, if ever again they speak of it; if you do not, I will give you little quiet. I fear you not. If the magistrate will be so overseen (1) as to believe that because you which are the maim of the Church are spoken against, therefore they, namely, our Prince and State, which are God's lieutenants, shall be in like sort dealt with, [then] this credulity will be the magistrate's sin (2). But I know their wisdom to be such as they will not. For what reason is this which you, profane T. C., have used, page 103?

The sinful, the unlawful, the broken, unnatural, false and bastardly governors of the Church, to wit, archbishops and bishops, which abuse even their false offices, are spoken against. Therefore the true, natural, and lawful, and just, governors of the Commonwealth shall be likewise short misliked. Ah, senseless and undutiful beasts, that dare compare yourselves with our true magistrates, which are the ordinances of God; with yourselves, that is, with archbishops and bishops, which as you yourselves confess (I will, by-and-bye, prove this) are the ordinances of the devil.

I know I am disliked of many which are your enemies, that is, of many which you call Puritans. It is their weakness

(1) Deceived.

(2) This point is to be noted carefully as part of the episcopal defensive tactics. The bishops contend persistently that to attack the dignities and privileges of the higher clergy involves an attack upon the honours and prerogatives of the Magistrate or Prince—the representative of the civil power; in this case, Elizabeth. The sentiment was later crystallised by James I. in the phrase 'no bishop, no king.' But though both aristocratic systems may naturally be supposed to be reciprocally sympathetic, and the adherence of Episcopalians to the throne to surpass that of others, nevertheless the Puritans of all shades, as a matter of fact, were intensely loyal—almost irrationally so. The argument suggested by Cooper, on p. 103 of his *Admonition*, to which Martin refers, runs on these lines. The Jews attributed their evils to the preaching of Jeremiah, just as the rebels under Richard II. attributed their miseries to their rulers and chief men. Cooper sees an essential connection between the two events. 'This maner o reasoning is so perillous.'

[that] I am threatened to be hanged by you (1). What though I were hanged, do you think your cause shall be the better? For the day that you hang Martin, assure yourselves there will twenty Martins spring in my place. I mean not now, you gross beasts, of any commotion, as
21 profane T. C., like a senseless wretch, not able to under | stand an English phrase, hath given out upon that which he calleth the threatening of fists (2). Assure yourselves I will prove Mar-prelate ere I have done with you. I am alone. No man under heaven is privy, or hath been privy, unto my writings against you (3). I use the advice of none therein. You have and do suspect divers as Master Pagit, Master Wigginton, Master Udall, and Master Penry, &c. to make Martin. (4) If they cannot clear their selves, their silliness is pitiful, and they are worthy to bear Martin's punishment. Well, once again, answer my reasons, [attacking] both of your antichristian places in my first EPISTLE unto you; and these now used against you. Otherwise the wisdom of the magistrate must needs smell what you are, and call you to a reckoning for deceiving them [the civil authorities] so long, making them to suffer the Church of Christ, under their government to be maimed and deformed.

Your reasons for the defence of your hierarchy and the keeping out of Christ's government, used by this profane T. C., are already answered. They show what profane beasts you are. I will here repeat them. But here, first, the reader is to know what answer this T. C. maketh unto the syllogisms, whereby I prove all lord bishops to be petty popes, and petty antichrists. I assure you no other than this: he flatly denieth the conclusion, whereas he might (if he had any learning in him, or had read anything) know

(1) See THE EPITOME, on the first page of the prefatory epistle; and the present Tract, p. 238, especially the note given there.
(2) See THE EPISTLE, p. 18, note (4); present Tract, p. 217.
(3) See above, p. 220.
(4) These names, as suspected authors of the Marprelate Tracts, are discussed in the *Hist. Intro.*, pp. 277, 280, 283, 284. For Pagit, see THE EPISTLE, p. 62, *note* (2); for Wigginton, *ibid.* p. 59, *note* (1) (and further references as in Index); for Udall, *ibid.* pp. 71, *note* (2) *et seq.*

that every dunstical logician giveth this for an inviolable precept, that the conclusion is not to be denied. For that must needs be true, if the major and minor be true; he in omitting (1) the major and minor, because he was not able to answer, thereby granteth the conclusion to be true. His answer unto the conclusion is, that all lord bishops were not petty popes, because (page 74) Cranmer, Ridley, Hooper, were not petty popes. They were not petty popes because they were not reprobates. As though—you block, you!—every petty pope and every petty anti | christ were a repro- 22
bate (2). Why no man can deny Gregory the Great to be a petty pope, and a petty and petty [*sic*] antichrist. For he was the next immediate pope before Boniface I, that known antichrist; and yet this Gregory left behind him undoubted testimonies of a chosen child of God. So might they; and yet be petty popes, in respect of their office. Profane T. C.'s first and second reason for the lawfulness of our church government! And what though good men gave their consent unto our church government, or writing unto bishops gave them their lordly titles? Are their offices therefore lawful? Then, so is the Pope's office. For Erasmus was a good man, you cannot deny; and yet he both allowed of the Pope's offices since his calling (3), and writing unto him gave him his titles. So did Luther since his calling (3) also, for he dedicated his book of Christian Liberty unto Pope Leo X. The book and his Epistle unto

(1) Passing over.

(2) Cooper gives the cases of Cranmer, Ridley and Latimer, martyrs for the Protestant faith, and also of Hooper the martyr and Coverdale, both men of marked antagonism to all superstition, and these men, one and all, accepted the episcopal office. The well-known foreign reformers, Peter Martyr, Bucer and John a Lasco, gave the English bishops their official titles when writing to them. Then he adds, 'to condemne all these as Reprobate and Pety Antichrists, were great rashnesse, and such impudencie as ought not in any Christian Church or common vveale to bee borne without punishment.'—*Admonition*, p. 73 vers. [The pagination is omitted at this place, although Martin gives it as 74. But the next following page is numbered 74.]

(3) That is, since he acknowledged the 'calling of grace,' and *a fortiori*, became a Protestant, though Erasmus, in spite of all his anti-Catholic satire, managed to keep clear of an action for heresy. He had no mind to become a martyr.

the Pope are both in English. Here I would wish the magistrate to mark what good reasons you are able to afford for your hierarchy.

Thirdly, saith profane T. C., page 75 (1), all churches have not the government of pastors and doctors; but Saxony and Denmark have lord bishops. You are a great statesman, undoubtedly, T. C., that understand the state of other Churches so well. But herein the impudency of a proud fool appeareth egregiously. As though the testimony of a silly schoolmaster (2), being also as unlearned as a man of that trade and profession can be with any honesty, would be believed against known experience. Yes, but Saxony and Denmark have superintendents; what then? Ergo, lord archbishops and bishops? (3) I deny it. Though other Churches had lord archbishops and bishops, this proveth nothing else but that other churches are maimed and have their imperfections. Your reason is this: other good churches are deformed, therefore ours must needs be
23 so too. The king's son is lame, therefore the | children of no subjects must go upright. And these be all the good reasons which you can bring for the government of archbishops and bishops against the government of Christ. You reason thus: it [the latter] must not be admitted into this kingdom, for then civilians shall not be able to live in that estimation and wealth, wherein they now do (4). Carnal and senseless beasts, who are not ashamed to prefer the outward estate of men before the glory of Christ's kingdom. Here, again, let the magistrate and other

(1) The reference should be '74 verso and 75'—the verso is without pagination.

(2) Bishop Cooper had been the master of Magdalen School at Oxford.

(3) Cooper's words are a quotation from Zanchius: 'In the Church of the Protestants indeede they haue Bishops and Archbishops, which chaunging the good Greeke names into ill Latine names, they call Superintendents, and generall Superintendents,' &c. Cooper had already admitted that in Saxony they had not the *names* archbishop and bishop.

(4) Bancroft, in his sermon at Paul's Cross, Feb. 9, 1588-9, is frank enough on this point, asking the laymen how they like the prospect of restoring their plundered estates. See *Hist. Intro.*, 174, the reference to the 'laie faction.'

readers consider, whether it be not time that such brutish men shall be looked unto. Which reason thus: The body of Christ, which is the Church, must needs be maimed and deformed in this Commonwealth, because otherwise civilians should not be able to live. Why, you enemies to the State, you traitors to God and His Word, you Mar-Prince, Mar-Law, Mar-Magistrate, Mar-Church, and Mar-Commonwealth, do you not know that the world should rather go a-begging than that the glory of God, by maiming His church, should be defaced? Who can abide this indignity? The Prince and State must procure (1) God to wrath against them, by continuing the deformity of His Church, and it may not be otherwise, for the civilians else must fall to decay. I will tell you what, you monstrous and ungodly Bishops, though I had no fear of God before mine eyes, and had no hope of a better life, yet the love that I owe, as a natural man, unto her Majesty and the State, would enforce me to write against you. Her Majesty and this Kingdom (whom the Lord bless with His mighty hand, I unfeignedly beseech) must endanger themselves under the peril of God's heavy wrath rather than the maim of our church government must be healed. For we had rather that it should be so, say our bishops, than that we should be thrust out; for if we should be thrust out, the study of the civil law must needs go to rack. Well, if I had lived some time (2) a citizen in that old and ancient | (though heathenish) Rome, 24
and had heard King Deiotarus (3), Caesar, yea, or Pompey himself, give out this speech, viz., that the City and Empire

(1) In the now obsolete sense 'to persuade.' See above, p. 240.

> 'The famous British prince and faery knight . . .
> Of the fair Alma greatly were procured
> To make there longer sojourn and abode.'
>
> Spenser (Webster's *Dict.*).

(2) *Al.* some times.

(3) Deiotarus was a tetrarch and king of Galatia, an ally of the Romans, and was defended before Cæsar by Cicero, 45 B.C.

L. Sergius Catilina, P. Cornelius Lentulus and C. Cornelius Cethegus were the three desperate profligates chiefly concerned in the well-known conspiracy at Rome, 63 B.C., in connection with which all three lost their lives—Catiline slain on the field of battle, Lentulus and Cethegus strangled in prison.

of Rome must needs be brought subject to some danger, because, otherwise, Catiline, Lentulus, Cethegus, with other of the nobility, could not tell how to live, but needs go a-begging, I would surely, in the love I owed (1) to the safety of that State, had called him that had used such a speech *in judicium capitis*, whosoever he had been; and I would not have doubted to have given him the overthrow. And shall I, being a Christian English subject, abide to hear a wicked crew of ungodly bishops, with their hang-ons and parasites, affirm that our Queen and our State must needs be subject to the greatest danger that may be; viz., the wrath of God for deforming His Church, and that God's Church must needs be maimed and deformed among us; because, otherwise, a few civilians shall not be able to live? Shall I hear and see these things professed and published, and in the love I owe unto God's religion and her Majesty say nothing? I cannot; I will not; I may not be silent at this speech; come what will of it. The love of a Christian Church, Prince and State shall work more in me than the love of a heathen empire and state should do.

Now judge, good reader, who is more tolerable in a Commonwealth; Martin, who would have the enemies of her Majesty removed thence, or our Bishops which would have her life, and the whole Kingdom's prosperity, hazarded, rather than a few civilians want maintenance. But I pray thee, tell me, T. C., why should the government of Christ impoverish civilians?

1. Because, saith he, page 77, the canon law by which they live must be altered if that were admitted. Yea, but civilians live by the Court of Admiralty (2), and other courts, as well as by the Arches, viz., [by] the Probates of Testaments, the Controversies of Tithes, Matrimony,

(1) M. ought.
(2) M. amralty. The form of the word is highly interesting. The word 'admiral' seems to have come from Genoa or Venice, and to have been derived from the Arabic *amir-al-bahr* (commander of the sea). *Admirallus* is the mediæv, Latin modification.

and many | other causes which you, Bishops Mar-State, do 25
usurping take from the civil magistrate, would be a means of civilians' maintenance (1). But are you not ashamed to profess your whole government to be a government ruled by the Pope's canon laws, which are banished by statute out of this Kingdom? This notably showeth that you are Mar-Prince and Mar-State. For how dare you retain these laws, unless by virtue of them, you mean either to enforce the supremacy of the Prince to go again to Rome, or to come to Lambeth? It is treason by statute for any subject in this land to proceed Doctor of the Canon Law; and dare you profess your church government to be ruled by that law? As though one statute might not refer all matters of the canon law unto the temporal and common law of this realm; and this is all you can say, T. C.

2. Yes, saith he, the government of Christ would bring in the judicial law of Moses. As much as is moral of that law, or the equity of it, would be brought in. And do you gainsay it? But you sodden-headed ass, you, the most part of that law is abrogated. Some part thereof is in force among us, as the punishment of a murderer by death, and presumptuous obstinate theft by death, &c.

(1) In the following quotation the word 'ciuill' in the first sentence is probably an error and should be 'canon'; even then the argument is sufficiently far-fetched. 'The vse and studie of the Ciuill (?) law will be utterly overthrowen: For the *Ciuilians* in this Realme liue not by the use of the Ciuill law, but by the offices of the *Canon law*, and such things as are within the compasse thereof. And if you take those offices and functions away, and those matters wherewith they deale in the *Canon Lawe:* you must needes take away the hope of rewarde, and by that meanes, their whole Studie. And matters of *Tithes, Testaments and Matrimonie, judgments also of Adulterie, Slaunder, &c.* are in these iudgements meere temporall, and therefore to bee dealt in by the temporall Magistrate onely: Which as yet haue eyther none at all, or very fewe lawes touching those things.'—*Admonition*, 77 recto and verso (no pag.). The meaning of these confused sentences is that most human interests at this time were determined by Canon Law: the changes demanded by the reformers would abolish the lucrative offices held by those who were learned canonists; thenceforth no one would count it worth while to study Canon Law: besides, how difficult it would be to transfer these causes to the civil jurisdiction, when the *corpus* of civil law contained so few enactments bearing upon such matters. The extreme simplicity and puerility of the argument seems characteristic of the episcopal mind.

3. Her Majesty's prerogative in ecclesiastical causes should not be a whit diminished, but rather greatly strengthened by Christ's government. And no law should be altered, but such as were contrary to the law of God, and against the profit of the Commonwealth; and therefore there can be no danger in altering these.

4. The minister's maintenance by tithe, no Puritan denieth to be unlawful. For Martin (good Master Parson), you must understand, doth account no Brownist to be a Puritan (1); nor yet a sottish Cooperist.

5. The inconvenience which you show of the government, which is, that men would not be ruled by it, is answered afore. And, I pray you, why should they not be better
26 o | bedient unto God's law, if the same also were established by the law of the land, than to the Pope's law and his canons? You think that all men are like yourselves; that is, like bishops, such as cannot choose but break the laws and good orders of God and her Majesty.

7 (2). The laws of England have been made when there was never a bishop in the Parliament, as in the first year of her Majesty. And this reason, as all the rest, may serve to maintain Popery, as well as the hierarchy of bishops.

8. The government of the church of Christ is no popular government, but is monarchical in regard of our Head, Christ; aristocratical in the eldership; and democratical in

(1) It is clear that when churches are voluntary associations of Christians, 'gathered' voluntarily out of the general population, according to the Congregational theory taught by Browne, the minister cannot with justice be supported by a public tax such as the tithe. And in this connection it is well to remember that all churches to-day, including the State establishment, are voluntary associations. Martin in the above sentence draws a distinction between the Brownist and the Puritan; some of the latter clung to the Erastian idea of outwardly controlling the Church through the rule of the civil magistrate. These of course had no objection to having their religion supported by taxing other people. Martin does not always identify himself with the Puritan standpoint, and it is not easy to say how far he does so here, or in the next paragraph. One is always conscious of a certain measure of detachment of view in Martin. In this quality of mind he is much like the able writer of *A Petition directed to H. M.*

(2) In the enumeration of the arguments '6' is omitted.

the people (1). Such is the civil government of our Kingdom; monarchical in her Majesty's person; aristocratical in the higher House of Parliament, or rather at the Council table; democratical in the body of the Commons of the lower House of Parliament. Therefore, profane T. C., this government seeketh no popularity to be brought into the church; much less intendeth the alteration of the civil State; that is your slander, of which you make an occupation. And I will surely pay you for it.

I must be brief now, but MORE WORK FOR COOPER (2) shall examine your slanders. They are nothing else but proofs, that, as by your own confessions, you are 'bishops of the devil,' so you are enemies unto the State. For by these slanders, you go about to blind our State, that they may never see a perfect regiment (3) of the Church in our days. I say, that by your own confessions, you are 'bishops of the devil.' I will prove it thus.

You confess that your lordly government were not lawful and tolerable in this Commonwealth, if her Majesty and the State of the land did disclaim the same. Tell me, do you not confess this? Deny it, if you dare. For will you say that you ought lawfully to be here in our Commonwealth, whether her Majesty and the Council will, or no? Is this the | thanks that her Majesty shall have, for tolerating you 27
in her Kingdom all this while, that, now, you will say that you and your places stand not in this Kingdom by her courtesy; but [that] you have as good right unto your places as she hath unto her Kingdom? And, by this

(1) This interesting generalisation of the true form of church government as understood by the 'seekers after reformation' is discussed in our Introduction. Here it is only necessary to guard the reader against giving the word 'aristocratic' its ordinary modern connotation. Martin is not thinking so much of official grades within the church, as though the eldership were a kind of prelacy. He is rather thinking of the elders as few in number. For his church is also democratical, and it is the Christian *demos* that elects the eldership. No doubt the democracy of the church would elect the best—the *aristoi*—to the honourable office of the eldership.

(2) The title of the Tract seized while being printed by Hodgkins at Manchester.

(3) Rule, organisation.

means, your offices stand not by her good liking, and the good liking of the State, as do the offices of the Lord High Chancellor, High Treasurer and High Steward of England. But your offices ought to stand and to be in force, in spite of her Majesty, the Parliament, Council, and every man else, unless they would do you injury. So that I know, aye (1), you dare not deny, but that your offices were unlawful in our Commonwealth, if her Majesty, the Parliament and the Council would have them abolished. If you grant this, then you do not hold your offices as from God, but as from man. Her Majesty, she holdeth her office and her Kingdom as from God, and is beholden (2) for the same unto no prince or state under heaven. Your case is otherwise; for you hold your offices as from her Majesty, and not from God. For otherwise, you needed not to be any more beholden unto her Majesty for the same, in regard of right, than she is bound to be beholden unto other states in regard of her right. And so you, in regard of your lordly superiority, are not the bishops of God; but, as Jerome saith, the bishops of man. And this the most of you confess to be true; and you see how dangerous it would be for you to affirm the contrary; viz., that you hold your offices as from God. Well, Sir, if you say that you are the bishops of man, then
T.C.[page] 38. tell me whether you like (of) Dean John's book? Oh, yes, saith T. C. For his Grace did peruse that book, and we know the sufficiency of it to be such, as the Puritans are not able to answer it (3). Well, then, whatsoever is in this book is authentical (4). It is so, saith T. C.; otherwise his Grace would not have allowed it. What say you then to the
28 140th | page of that book, where he saith (answering the Treatise of the bishop of God, the bishop of man, and the

(1) M. I.
(2) M. beholding; and so once or twice immediately below.
(3) The words in Cooper's *Admonition* (p. 38) are really the words of Whitgift, who, writing his own defence in the third person, says: 'He did indeede peruse *Doctor Bridges* booke before it went to the Presse, and hee knoweth that the sufficiencie thereof,' &c. A fuller quotation from this place will be found in THE EPISTLE, p. 19, *note* (1).
(4) Authoritative.

bishop of the devil) (1) that there is no bishop of man at all, but [that] every bishop must be either the bishop of God or the bishop of the devil. He also affirmeth none to be the bishop of God, but he which hath warrant, both inclusively and expressly, in God's Word (2). Now, you bishops of the devil, what say you now? Are you spited of the Puritans, because you, like good subjects, defend the laws of her Majesty, or else, because like incarnate devils, you are bishops of the devils, as you yourselves confess? Dean John. lib. 4, p. 340, line 7.

Here, again, let the magistrate once more consider, what pestilent and dangerous beasts these wretches are unto the civil State. For, either by their own confession, they are the bishops of the devil (and so by that means, will be the undoing of the State, if they be continued therein) or else their places ought to be in this Commonwealth, whether her Majesty and our State will or no; because they are not (as they say) the bishops of man; that is, they have not their superiority and their lordly callings over their brethren by human constitution, as my Lord Chancellor, Treasurer, and other honourable personages have; but, by divine ordinance. Yea, and their callings they hold (as you have heard) not only to be inclusively, but also expressly, in the Word. What shift will they use to avoid this point? Are they the bishops of men, that is, hold they their jurisdiction as from men? No, saith Dean Bridges (3); no, saith John of Canterbury, and the rest of them (for all of them allow this book of John Bridges) for then we are the bishops of the devil; we cannot avoid it. Are they, then, the bishops of God; that is, have they such a calling as the Apostles, Evangelists, &c., had; that is, such a calling as ought

(1) Bridges entitles the Fourth Book of his *Defence*, 'An answer to that part of a booke . . . called, The Judgement of a most reuerende and learned man from beyonde the Seas, &c. that concerneth the superior authority of Bishops.' The words of Beza, enumerating the three possible kinds of bishops, are quoted at the opening of the section, p. 328. On this point see *Hist. Intro.*, 258.

(2) This point has already been touched upon in THE MINERALLS, § 15, p. 189. See the note in that place.

(3) *H*. Gridges—a misprint, it may be assumed.

lawfully to be in a Christian Commonwealth (unless the magistrate would injury (1) the Church, yea, maim, deform,
29 and make a monster of the | Church) whether the magistrate will or no? We have, say they; for our callings are not only inclusively, but also expressly, in the Word. So that by Dean Bridges' confession, and the approbation of John Canterbury, either our bishops are bishops of the devil, or their callings cannot be defended [as] lawful, without flat and plain treason in overthrowing her Majesty's supremacy (2). And so Dean Bridges hath written, and John Whitgift hath 'approved and allowed,' flat treason to be published. Is Martin to be blamed for finding out and discovering traitors; is he to be blamed for crying out against the bishops of the devil? If he be, then indeed have I offended in writing against bishops. If not, whether is the better subject Martin, or our bishops? Whether I be favoured or no, I will not cease, in the love I owe to her Majesty, to write against traitors, to write against the devil's bishops. Our bishops are such by their own confession. For they protest themselves to be bishops of the devil, if they should hold the preëminence to be from man; if they hold it otherwise than from man, they are traitors. And until this beast Dr. Bridges wrote this book (3) they never as yet durst presume to claim their lordships any otherwise lawful, than from her Majesty. Yea, and Dr. Bridges, about the 60th

(1) See the same usage above, p. 234, *note* (1).

(2) His knowledge of Elizabeth's character gave the edge to Martin's logic. Bridges was out of touch with the realities of the case when he allowed only two categories of bishops in England, bishops of God and bishops of the devil, and would not allow that the man-made bishop was other or better than a bishop of the devil. The system established on the death of Mary was frankly Erastian, and so Elizabeth kept it in practice. There was not a bishop of them all but owed his position to her will, and some even to her caprice. She was quite capable on her own initiative of unfrocking any of them. If the episcopal junta approved of Bridges' view of the episcopal appointment and authorisation they must deny being man-made, and face Elizabeth, who, not in *esse* but in *posse*, was the 'supreme Governor' of the church; that is, lay themselves open to a charge of treason. See THE EPISTLE, p. 52, *note* (1), where Ballard the Jesuit makes a similar charge against Whitgift, *i.e.*, that he held his ecclesiastical courts by virtue of Popish canons and not in the name and by the authority of her Majesty.

(3) M. Gridges, as on the previous page.

page, saith the same. But they care not what contrariety they have in their writings, what treason they hold, so long as they are persuaded that no man shall be tolerated to write against them. I have once already shewed treason to be in this book of the Dean of Sarum, page 448. I shew the like now to be, page 340. Because Dean Bridges durst not answer me, they have turned unto me, in his stead, a beast, whom by the length of his ears I guess to be his brother; that is, an ass of the same kind. But I will be answered of the Dean himself, in this and the former point of treason; or else, his cloister shall smoke for it. And thus, profane T. C., you | perceive what a good subject you 30
are in defending the established government. Thus also I have answered all your book in the matters of the lawfulness of the government by pastors, doctors, elders and deacons, and the unlawfulness of our bastardly church government by archbishops and bishops; where also the reader may see that if ever there was a Church rightly governed, that is, the Church without maim or deformity, the same was governed by pastors, doctors, elders and deacons.

Wo, wo! (1) But where have I been all this while? Ten to one, among some of these Puritans. Why, Martin? Why, Martin, I say, hast thou (2) forgotten thyself? Where hast'e (3) been? Why man, 'cha' (4) been a-seeking for a salmon's nest, and 'cha vownd a whole crew, either of ecclesiastical traitors, or of bishops of the devil, of broken and maimed members of the Church. Never wink on me,

(1) This is imitation of Bridges' style; *e.g.* 'Nay, who there (Masters mine,) not so.'—*Defence*, p. 76. Martin breaks the tension of his serious argumentation by assuming once more the character of the simple rustic in the next few lines.

(2) M. hast tow.

(3) M. hast ti.

(4) The dialect imitated is that of the west of England; 'cha'=Iche ha, or I have. Similarly, 'cha' vownd = I have found. Compare the language of Hodge, the conventional rustic in *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, Act I., Scene II. Petheram in a note on this usage quotes Steevens' remark in his edition of Shakespeare's *Lear*, 'When our ancient writers have occasion to introduce a rustick, they commonly allot him the Somersetshire dialect. Mercury, in the second Book of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, assumes the appearance of a clown, and our translator Golding has made him speak with the provinciality of Shakespeare's Edgar.'

good fellow, for I will speak the truth, let the Puritans do what they can. I say, then, that they are broken members, and I say John of Canterbury, if he be a member of the Church, I say he is a broken member; and that Thomas of Winchester is a choleric member. Yea and cha' vound that profane T. C. is afraid lest her Majesty should give bishops' livings away from them. And therefore shutteth his book with this position, viz., that it is not lawful to bestow such livings upon laymen, as are appointed by God's law upon ministers (1). But hereof MORE WORK FOR COOPER shall learnedly dispute.

Reverend T. C., 'Admonition,' pages 1, 2, 3.

We use the ministers most vile now-a-days. God will punish us for it, as He did those which abused His prophets (2).

Reverend Martin.

Look to it, T. C., then. For out of thine own mouth shalt thou be judged, thou unrighteous servant. Our Bishops
31 are they which abuse the ministers. Our Bishops were | never good ministers as yet, and therefore they are not to be compared with the prophets.

Reverend T. C., page 4 [*and* 5].

Some men will say that I do great injury to the prophets and apostles in comparing our bishops unto them; but we may be happy, if we have tolerable ministers, in this perilous age (3).

(1) The sentence is quoted in THE MINERALLS, § 35, p. 194 *note* (1).

(2) This is a sufficiently accurate summary of the three first pages of the *Admonition to the People of England.*

(3) Bishop Cooper first propounds as an 'Objection' the allegation contained in the first half of the above paragraph, and in the rambling piece of moralizing which he offers as the 'Answere' the second half of the paragraph occurs. Martin interprets it to mean 'Let us be thankful our ministers are no worse; in such a time as the present it is quite likely they should be.' Cooper's actual words are (and the implicit confession in them is significant and not to be overlooked), 'Charitie woulde consider that the times are dangerous, and that we are lighted into these corrupt and perillous last dayes, whereof Christ prophecied in the

Reverend Martin.

I hope, T. C., that thou dost not mean to serve the Church with worse than we have. What, worse than John of Canterbury? Worse than Tom Tubtrimmer of Winchester? Worse than the vicars of hell, Sir Geoffrey Jones, the parson of Mickleham (1), &c.? I pray thee, rather than we should have a change from evil to worse, let us have the evil still. But I care not, if I abide the venture of the change. Therefore get John with his Canterburiness removed, &c. (whom thou acknowledgest to be evil), and I do not doubt if worse come in their stead, but the devil will soon fetch them away, and so we shall be quickly rid both of evil and worse. But, good T. C., is it possible to find worse than we have? I do not marvel, though thou callest me libeller, when thou darest abuse the prophets far worse than in calling them libellers; for I tell thee true, thou couldest not have, any way, so stained their good names, as thou hast done in comparing them to our bishops. Call me libeller as often as thou wilt; I do not greatly care. But, and thou lovest me, never liken me to our 'bishops of the devil.' For I cannot abide to be compared unto those. For by thine own comparison, in the 9th page, they are just Balaams, up and down (2).

Reverend T. C., pages 8, 9, 10.

Though our bishops be as evil as Judas, the false apostles and Balaam, yet, because they have sometimes brought unto us God's message, we must think no otherwise of

Euangelists, and therefore may thinke our selues thrise happy, if wee haue tollerable Ministers, though they bee farre from the rule that Christian perfection requireth.'—P. 5.

(1) M. Micklain. See THE EPISTLE, pp. 83, and 92, § 2.

(2) '*Balaam* was a covetous prophet, and yet by him God blessed his people. Nowe surely, if you have receiued at their handes the blessing of Gods trueth, and the light of his holie word, as in deede you haue: the cogitation of this benefite shoulde moue your mindes more fauourably to thinke of them, and more charitably to iudge of their doinges. . . . For men will thinke this: If these people did fauour the Gospell they would rather seeke meanes to hide the blemishes and imperfections of their Prelates and Preachers, then thus odiously to amplifie and paint foorth their discredite to their vtter shame and reproche in the worlde.'—Cooper's *Admonition*, 9.

32 them than of God's messengers. For | God will not suffer devilish and antichristian persons to be the chief restorers of His Gospel (1).

Reverend Martin.

First, T. C., I have truly gathered thine argument, though thou namest neither Judas nor the false apostles. Prove it otherwise! Then hast *thou*, reverend Martin, proved thyself a liar. Now secondly, then, seeing it is so, I pray thee, good, honest T. C., desire our Judases (who was also one of the first apostles) not to sell their Master for money. Desire our false apostles (who preach no false doctrine for the most part) not to insult our poor Paul; and desire our good Balaams not to follow the wages of unrighteousness. The counsel is good. For Judas, though one of the first publishers of the Gospel (so were not our bishops in our time) yet hung himself. The false apostles had their reward, I doubt not. And Balaam, as soon as ever the Israelites took him, was justly executed for his wickedness. The forced blessing, wherewith he blessed them, saved him not.

Reverend T. C., pages 10, 11, 12, 13 (2).

Ma[n]y conjectural speeches fly abroad of bishops; as, that they are covetous, give not to the poor, hinder reforma-

(1) 'For will men iudge (trowe you) that after so great darknesse and ignoraunce of God's woorde, as the Churche of Christ is reported by vs to haue beene wrapped in, that God woulde restore and sende vnto the same the light of his trueth, by so wicked and naughtie instruments as these men imagined to be? . . . Christ would not suffer that the deuill shoulde vtter any thing to the glorie of God, and will he suffer deuillish and Antichristian persons to bee the chiefe Preachers and restorers of his Gospell? God alwaies hath appointed godlie men to be the teachers and receiuers of his trueth, as Abraham, &c.'—Cooper's *Admonition*, 9, 10. This defence of the character of Elizabeth's bishops on *à priori* grounds has the merit of originality.

(2) The first sentence contains Cooper's statement of the 'Obiection' which he understands is urged against the 'Bishops and preachers.' The remainder of the paragraph contains the 'Answere,' which occupies three pages of his book; but his answer has no particular bearing upon the accusations alleged in the 'Objection.' His method is to defame the enemy. 'On the one side is the *Papist*, whose errours they [the bishops] confute, whose obstinacie they punish: On the other side are the *phantasticall spirites of Anabaptists, of the families of the loue,*

tion, simoniacs, &c. But the chief governors ought to take heed that they give no credit to any such thing. I trust, never any of them committed idolatry, as Aaron did.

Reverend Martin.

Yea, I beseech you that are in authority, in any case not to believe any truth against our bishops; for these Puritans, although the Bishops grant themselves to be as evil as Balaam, could never yet prove the good Fathers to have committed idolatry as Aaron did. And as long as they be no worse than Balaam was, there is no reason why they should be disliked. You know this is a troublesome world; men cannot come into any mere | living without friends. 33
And it is no reason why a man should trouble his friend and give him nothing; a hundred pounds and a gelding is yet better than nothing (1). To bowl but seven days in the week is a very tolerable recreation (2). You must know that John of London hath sometimes preached (as this profane T. C. hath given out to his no small commendations) thrice in a year at Paul's Cross (3). It is reason that

and sundry others of the like sort, whose wickednesse and corrupting of the Church is by our ecclesiastical gouernors drawen into the light, reproued, and repressed.'—Cooper's *Admonition*, 11. This was an unprincipled method of controversy. The persecuted Puritans and Separatists were men of somewhat austere piety. *Anabaptist* was the episcopal equivalent for rascal; of Anabaptism as a religious socialism and as a general revolutionary propaganda, except among a few Continental refugees possibly, there is little or no trace at this time, and at no time was it an English movement. The doctrines of Henry Niklaes, who propounded the mystic conception of the Family of Love, never affected English Puritanism; and it is doubtful if they were on the Continent or in England ever associated with any immoral theory of life. Martin's satire, which must not be overlooked, lies in his brief but accurate summary of Cooper's method. The accusation is that the bishops are covetous, &c. Cooper's refutation is that it cannot be proved that they are horrible idolaters.

(1) This was the simoniacal gift which Martin alleges Dean Bridges gave to his patron, Sir Edward Horsey, for helping him to his deanery. See THE EPISTLE, p. 45 *note* (2).

(2) To bowl only seven days in a week is Martin's way of saying that the Bishop of London played bowls on a Sunday, an accusation often referred to in these Tracts.

(3) 'Howe many Sermons hath hee preached at *Paules* crosse? Sometime three in a yeere, yea, sometime two or three together, being an olde man [about sixty-eight] to supply some younger mens negligence.'—Aylmer on himself in Cooper's *Admonition*, 62. The Paul's Cross open-air

he should bestow the rest of the year in maintaining his health by recreation and providing for his family. Give him leave but to keep out the government of the Church, to swear like a swag, to persecute, and to take some small ten in the hundred (1) and truly he will be loth ever to commit idolatry as Aaron did. I hope, though Judas sold his Master, yet that it cannot be proved since his calling, that ever he committed idolatry.

Reverend T. C., page 16, 17.

Though bishops should offend as Noah did in drunkenness, yet good children should cover their father's faults. For natural children, though they suffer injuries at their father's hand, yet they take their griefs very mildly (2).

Reverend Martin.

Bishop Westfaling? But what then? (3) Parson Gravat, Parson of Sir John Pulchre's in London (one of dumb John's boosing mates) will be drunk but once a week. But what then? (4). Good children should take links in a cold morning, and light them at his nose, to see if, by that means, some part of the fire that hath so flashed his sweet face

sermon was, however, a formidable affair both for preacher and hearers, as by custom its length was not less than two hours.

(1) Ten per cent. interest on the moneys he lent.

(2) This is an accurate summary of Cooper's argument on the pages referred to.

(3) Bishop Westfaling is recognised by Martin as something of an exception amongst Elizabeth's bishops; his superiority to ecclesiastical corruption was so unusual. This brief elliptic introduction of his name I therefore take to mean that this one sober and incorruptible prelate cannot save the clergy from a general condemnation. See THE EPISTLE, p. 25, *note* (3).

(4) Pulcher's is the common London abbreviation for St. Sepulchre's. Parson William Gravat or Gravet, here described as one of Aylmer's 'boosing companions' (the expression sounds curiously modern), was instituted to St. Sepulchre's in 1566 and held a prebend and a couple of livings *in commendam*. He is referred to in THE JUST CENSURE, p. 369, as 'drunken Gravat.' In June, 1588, he was appointed one of the censors of the press by Whitgift. He was a Peterhouse man, and published sermons and a short catechism. He was apparently one of a number of divines selected in 1582 by the Privy Council to hold conferences with the Jesuits and seminary priests. The Council supplied a series of rules to guide the conference.—Strype's *Whitg.*, I., 193.

might be taken away. This were their duty, saith T. C., and not to cry 'Red Nose, Red Nose!' But, T. C., what if a man should find him lying in the kennel?—whether should he take him up (all to be mired like a swine) in the sight of the people and carry him home on his back, or fling a coverlet on him, and let him there take his rest until his legs would be advised by him to carry him home? But | 34
methinks, Brother T. C., you defend the bishops but evil-favouredly in these points. For you do as though a thief should say to a true man, 'I must needs have thy purse. Thou must bear with me—it is my nature; I must needs play the thief. But yet thou dealest uncharitably with me, if thou blazest it abroad; for though I made an occupation of theft, yet charity would cover it.' So say you, though our bishops make a trade of persecuting and depriving God's ministers, though they make a trade of continuing in antichristian callings, yet charity would have their faults covered, and have them mildly dealt with. As though, T. C., there were no difference betwixt those that fall by infirmity into some one sin, not making it their trade, and not defending the same to be lawful, and our bishops which continue in an antichristian calling and occupation, and defend (1) [that] they may do so. But will they leave, think you, if they be mildly and gently dealt with? Then good John of Canterbury, I pray thee, leave thy persecuting; good John of Canterbury, leave thy popedom; good Father John of London, be no more a 'bishop of the devil,' be no more a traitor to God and His Word! And, good sweet Boys, all of you, become honest men; maim and deform the Church no longer! Sweet Fathers, now, make not a trade of persecuting; gentle Fathers, keep the people in ignorance no longer; good Fathers, now maintain the dumb ministry no longer! Be the destruction of the Church no longer! Good, sweet Babes, leave your non-residency; and your other sins, sweet Popes, now; and suffer the truth to have free passage! Lo, T. C., now I have mildly dealt with the

(1) Defend = assert, take the position.

good Fathers. I will now expect awhile to see whether they will amend by fair means; if not, let them not say but they have been warned.

Reverend T. C., from the 20th to the 30th.

[*a*] Though the Bishops be faulty, yet they are not to be excused that find fault with them for sinister ends. [*b*] And the prince and magistrates is [*sic*] to take heed that by their sug | gestions they be not brought to put down lord bishops, to take away their livings and put them to their pensions. [*c*] For, the putting of them to their pensions would discourage young students from the study of divinity (1).

Reverend Martin.

I thought you were afraid to lose your livings by the Courtier Martin's means. But, Brethren, fear it not.

(1) (*a*) 'Whatsoever God regardeth in chastening his negligent Ministers . . . I feare it may bee too truly gathered, that they which bee the instruments thereof seeke to fulfill their enuious proude and disdainefull appetites, &c.'—Bishop Cooper's *Admonition*, p. 21.

(*b*) Philip of Macedon as a condition of amity proposed that the Greeks should give up their troublesome orators. Demosthenes replied with the fable of the wolf in like case suggesting to the sheep to give up their noisy dogs. 'Euen so the subtile serpent Sathan . . . endeuoureth cunningly to perswade the shepheardes, that is, the chiefe Gouernours of this realme, to put away their barking dogges, that is to put down the state of Bishops, and other chiefe of the Cleargie, to take away their lands and liuings, and set them to their pensions, the sooner by that meanes to work his purpose.'—P. 28.

(*c*) 'The craftie enemie of the Church of God . . . if he shall by any cunning bee able to pull away the reward of learning, hee right well seeth that hee shall haue farre fewer dogges to barke at him, and almost none that shall haue teeth to bite those hell houndes, that hee will sende to deuoure and destroy the flocke of Christ. . . . If the state of the Cleargie shall be made contemptible, and the best reward of learning a meane pension: he foreseeth that neither yong flourishing wittes will easily incline themselues to godly learning, neither wil their parents and friendes suffer them to make that the ende of their trauaile.'—Pp. 28, 29.

'Sathan' and the 'hell houndes' are then divided into three classes: (1) 'such as be Papistes in heart and yet can clap their handes, &c.'; (2) 'worldly and godlesse Epicures which can pretend religion,' but whose real desire is that 'they may bee partakers of that spoyle' which in the proposed alterations may be hoped for; (3) 'the thirde sort, in some respect the best, but of all other most dangerous'—they keep the others in countenance and invest their own proceedings with the character of zeal and godliness. These last are those that 'in doctrine agree with the present state,' that is, the Puritans.—Pp. 29, 30.

I would not have any true minister in the land want a sufficient living. But, good souls, I commend you yet, that are not so bashful but you will show your griefs. Is it the treading under foot of the glory of God that you fear, good men? No, no, say they, we could reasonably well bear that loss; but we die if we diminish the allowance of our kitchen. Let us be assured of that and our lordly callings, and we do not greatly care how other matters go. I will, when MORE WORK is published, help these young students unto a means to live; though they have none of your bishopdoms, if they will be ruled by me.

Reverend T. C., pages 35, 36.

There have been 'within these few weeks three or four' pamphlets published in print against bishops. 'The author of them calleth himself . . . Martin,' &c.

Reverend Martin.

But, good Tom Tubtrimmer, if there have been three or four published, why doth Bishop Cooper name one only? Why doth he not confute all? Why doth he invent objections of his own, seeing he hath three books more to confute, or two at least, than he hath touched? Nay, why doth he not confute one of them thoroughly, seeing therein his Bishopdom was reasonably caperclawed (1)? I have only published a 'PISTLE and a 'PITOME; wherein, also, I grant that I did reasonably 'pistle them. Therefore, T. C., you begin with a lie, in that you say that I have published either three or four books (2).

(1) Variant of *clapper-clawed* = to claw or scratch with open hand and nails, and fig. to revile or abuse.—Murray's *New Eng. Dict.*

(2) The 'three or four odious Libels against the Bishops' referred to by Cooper as having been published 'within these few weekes' could only have been the four anonymous publications THE EPISTLE and THE EPITOME by Martin Marprelate, [Udall's] *The Demonstration of Discipline*, and Penry's *An Exhortation unto the gouernours and people . . . of Wales*. This has an evident bearing upon the authorship of the Marprelate Tracts. It is clear that neither Penry nor Udall could have written the above sentence. And the evidence is the more valuable in that it is undesigned and indirect. THE MINERALLS was not published when the present Tract was being written.

36 | *Reverend T. C., page* 38.

'His Grace never felt blow as yet, &c.' What, is he past feeling? Wilt thou tell me that, T. C.? He sleepeth belike in the top of the roost? I would not be so well thwacked for the popedom of Canterbury, as he hath borne [to be] (1), poor man. He was never able to make good syllogism since, I am sure. 'He allowed Dr. Bridges's book,' quoth T. C. I pray thee, what got he by that but a testimony against himself, that either he hath allowed treason, or confessed himself to be the 'bishop of the devil'?

T. C., page 38. He that readeth his Grace's answer, and Master Cartwright's reply, shall see which is the better learned of the two (2).

So he shall, indeed, T. C. And he were very simple which could not discern that. And there is so much answered already, as thou sayest, that his Grace dare answer no more, for shame. And, T. C., you yourselves grant T. Cartwright to be learned; so did I never think John Whitgift to be. What comparison can you make between them? But, Thomas Cartwright, shall I say, that *thou* madest this book against me, because 'T. C.' is set to it? Well, take heed of it! If I find it to be thy doing, I will besoop (3) thee, as thou never bangedst John Whitgift in thy life.

I see here that they have quarrelled with thee, Walter Travers — [with thee] John Penry — [with thee] Thomas Sparke — [with thee] Giles Wigginton — [with thee] Master Davison; &c. Nay, it is no matter; you are e'en well served. This will teach you, I trow, to become my chaplains. For if you were my chaplains once, I trow

(1) The word in the original is clearly 'borne.' It would be natural to suggest a misprint for 'beene.'

(2) The statement is contained in the Archbishop's personal reply. His own words are 'Hee that with indifferent minde shall read the "answere" of the one, and the "replie" of the other shall see great difference in learning betweene them.' See a fuller extract in THE EPISTLE, p. 21, *note* (1).

(3) Cudgel. A suggested derivation is given in a note (p. 221) in the present Tract.

John Whitgift, nor any of his, durst not once say black to your eyes. And if I had thy learning, Thomas Cartwright, I would make them all to smoke. But though I were as very an ass-head as John Catercap, yet I could deal well enough with clergymen; yea with old Wynken de Word, Dr. Prime his self (1). And I'll bepistle you, Dr. Prime, when I am at more leisure; though, indeed, I tell you true, that as yet I do | disdain to deal with a contemptible 37
trencher-chaplain, such as you, Dr. Bancroft and Chaplain Duport, are (2). But I'se be with you all three to

(1) See below, p. 282. Dr. Prime is again given the *alias* Wynken de Word (the old printer, apprentice and successor to Caxton) in THE JUST CENSURE AND REPROOF, p. 363. It is there suggested that Dr. Prime was the author of a grammar; a Latin grammar it would necessarily be. Wynken de Word was famous as a printer and publisher of school books and grammars; the *Vulgaria* and numerous Latin primers of Robert Whittington and the popular disciplinary manual for youths, *Stans puer ad mensam*, by John Sulpitius (see *Almond for a Parrat* (Peth.) 29), bear his imprint. This may have occasioned Dr. Prime's nickname. Prime was a Fellow of New Coll., Oxon., and is credited by Wood (*Athenæ Oxon.*) with being notorious for his puritanical proclivities. But seeing he had Bishop Cooper for his patron, and had only the previous November been special preacher at St. Mary's, Oxford, beside holding a good living in the county, Martin was without doubt right in discounting his sympathies with ecclesiastical reform. His name occurs among a number of Oxford notabilities who commended Case's *Moral Questions*, and, more significantly, coupled with the names of Reynolds and Bilson as having been led astray by the Reims N. T. and its annotations. See Strype's *Annals*, III., i. 519, ii. 157.

(2) The traditions are constant in representing Richard Bancroft, the first Anglican propagator of the doctrine of the divine right of bishops, as a muscular Christian. In the interesting reminiscences and anecdotes published by the Rev. Andrew Clark, LL.D., in the *Essex Review*, from the MS. notebook of Dr. Plume, he appears as an ex-champion wrestler, and, when Primate of all England, still proud of his university fame as an athlete. At college he was given to 'rakehelling,' by which ominous word we should understand nothing worse than a devotion to wrestling, cock-fighting, and the general rowdiness of the less intellectual undergraduate. Francis Pew, who had often reproved him at Jesus College for such conduct, being asked by Bancroft when archbishop, 'Did'st ever think to see me in this honour?' answered, with permission, 'I believed I should sooner have seen you hanged.' Dr. Laurence Chaderton, the Puritan (see THE EPITOME, p. 167, *note* (4)), is said to have shared in his earlier days at Cambridge Bancroft's renown as a wrestler. Perhaps the remembrance of their bouts and rivalries led the Archbishop to leave Chaderton in the peaceful enjoyment of his lectureship at St. John's College. When Chaderton came up to Lambeth he was singled out of the waiting crowd to the Archbishop's presence. 'I am as glad to meet you here,' said Bancroft, 'as ever I was on Jesus Green or Christ's in my life' ('They had been the two cocks of the game,' Dr. Plume interposes). 'Come, we must have a fall the first thing we do. Put off your cloak,' throwing off his

bring (1), one day; you shall never scape my fingers, if I take you but once in hand. You see how I have dealt with Dean John; your entertainment shall be alike. But Thomas Cartwright, thou art T. C.; so is Tom Cooper, too. The distinction, then, between you both shall be this. He shall be 'profane T. C.'; because he calleth Christ Jesus, by whom the government by pastors, doctors, elders, deacons was commanded, to be—he knows not whom. And thou shalt be 'simple T. C.'

Concerning Mistress Lawson. Profane T. C., is it not lawful for her to go to Lambeth by water, to accompany a preacher's wife, going also (as commonly godly matrons in London do) with her man? 'No,' saith T. C., 'I do not like this in women.' Tush, man! Thomas Lawson is not Thomas Cooper. He has no such cause to doubt of Dame Lawson's going without her husband, as the Bishop of Winchester hath had of Dame Cooper's gadding. But MORE WORK FOR COOPER will say more for Mistress Lawson (2).

own gown; 'now do your best!' When the Puritan succeeded in tripping him up by the heels Bancroft had humour enough to remark, 'If one should report it as an omen, I see bishops may fall and Puritans may rise.' 'Bancroft every night,' says the old gossip, 'would play at post and pair [an old card game], and play very false and foul to try men's humours.' Abbot [afterwards Primate] would say, "I protest, my Lord, this not honest dealing."—*Essex Rev.*, January, 1906.

Dr. Duport became Master of Jesus and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cambridge.

(1) 'Be with you to bring' is a contemporary idiomatic expression. Nash uses it in *The Returne of Pasquill* in a sentence reminiscent of this passage: 'Hath *Martin* made him [T. Cartwright] his God, and thinketh he to escape my fingers? I will be with him to bring, from the very first rocking of his cradle, to the last penny that hee payd for purchasing.'—McKerrow's *Nash*, I., 99, and his note, IV., 63. Shakespeare uses it once only. See *Troil and Cress.*, I. ij. Dyce in his edition of Shakespeare gives in a note a series of examples of its use from the Elizabethan dramatists. The meaning evidently is 'I will bring as good as I get.'

(2) Mistress Margaret Lawson—'the shrew at Paule's Gate,' Martin calls her—figures frequently in the Tracts. She was evidently a well-known character, with strong Puritan sympathies and an inconveniently sharp tongue. She had been railing at Aylmer, so the gossip ran (THE EPISTLE, p. 30), and the Bishop defended himself in the *Admonition* edited by Cooper against the rumour. He says, 'Nowe cometh in Dame *Lawson* to frumpe the bishoppe vvith impudent and vnvvomanlie speech, and vnfit for that sexe, whome *Paul* vtterly forbiddeth to speake in

From whomsoever Chard had his protection, his face is glad of it; for otherwise he knoweth not how to get a printer for the established government. Because the books will not sell (1).

'Touching the Premunire. Let the Libeller and his do what he dare.' Why, Brethren, what wisdom is this in you to dare your betters? Do you not know that I can send you my mind by a 'Pistle, and then prove you to be petty popes and enemies to the State? And how can you mend yourselves? It is certain you are in a premunire. If her Majesty will give me leave to have the law, I will be bound to bring ten thousand pounds into her coffers upon that bargain. And therefore, foolish men, *dare* your | betters no 38 more. And here I pray thee mark how I have made the Bishops to pull in their horns (2). For, whereas in this place they had printed the word *dare*, they bethought themselves, that they had to deal with my Worship, which am favoured at Court, and, being afraid of me, they T. C. page 40.

the congregation. But considering the circumstances of time, place, and persons, it is to bee thought that Dame *Lawson* came at no time to the bishoppe in that brauerie: for if she had, the bishop is not so soft, but shee shoulde haue felt of Discipline and of the Queenes authoritie.' —P. 56. The Archbishop, as we have seen (THE EPISTLE, p. 31, *note* (1), threatened her with Bridewell when she reproached his favourite Dr. Perne, and upbraided her with gadding about without her own husband. Hence Martin's bitter allusion to the difference between Mistress Lawson and the unfortunate wife of the Bishop of Winchester. When the professional scribes introduced by Bancroft took up the episcopal case, knowing nothing of its essential merits, they seized naturally upon 'the shrew of Paul's Gate' as the subject of their satire. Thus Nash, in *An Almond for a Parrat*, commences on the first page of his 'book' proper with a fling at 'that long tongd doctresse Dame *Law*'; half a dozen pages later he cuts his antics at some length around the figure of '*Meg. Law*'; and four pages later there is a further and a much grosser reference to 'Ladie *Law*.'

(1) See THE EPISTLE, p. 33.

(2) As Martin proceeds to say, there are two places in the first edition of Cooper's *Admonition* where the text as first printed was cancelled by printed slips pasted over it. The first case is where the above words 'do what he dare' are pasted over with the correction 'do what he can.' Each subsequent edition has some slight variation in the text. For an account of the endless variations in the text of a work which ran through several editions, see article by R. B. McKerrow on variations in the *Returne of Pasquill* in *The Library*, vol. iv. (New Series), p. 384. For an account of Cooper's *Admonition*, see *Hist. Intro.*, pp. 165—172, and especially the bibliographical note at the close of the section, p. 172.

pasted the word *can* upon the word *dare*. And so, where before they bade me and mine do what we durst, now, they bid us do what we can; hoping thereby to have a friend in a corner, who would not suffer us to do what we ought and durst; and so our ability should not be according to their demerit. Mark now, ye 'Bishops of the Devil,' whether you be not afraide of me. I will see you jolled (1) with the premunire one day.

The like thing you will find in the 135th page. For there, having said that they will not deny the Discipline (2) to have been in the Apostles' time, they have now pasted there upon that, 'That is not yet proved' (3). So that, although their consciences do tell them that the Discipline was then, yet they will bear the world in hand (4) that that is not yet proved. Here you see that if this patch (5), T. C., had not used two patches to cover his patchery, the Bishops would have accounted him to be as very a patch as Dean John.

Ah (6), but these knave Puritans are more unmannerly before his Grace than the recusants are, and therefore the recusants have more favour. I cannot blame them; for we ought to have no popes. The Papists like[th] the archiepiscopal pall (7), and therefore reverence[th] a petty pope therein. And though the recusant come not to hear the

(1) Jolle = to beat.—Halliwell.

(2) Martin and his contemporaries use the word *discipline* as a current and recognised name for the form of church government which the Puritans were seeking to establish. John Udall entitled his exposition of their views, *A Demonstration of Discipline*.

(3) The words covered over are, 'I will not deny it.'

(4) Deceive the world.

(5) There is here a play upon the word *patch*, which, besides its commoner meaning, signifies a fool.

(6) ℳ.—A.

(7) Here signifying authority. The pall (or pallium) was a garment worn by the Pope and then sent by him as a mark of special favour to such high ecclesiastics as patriarchs, metropolitans, primates, and more rarely to bishops. The Roman archbishop could not exercise his functions until he had received his pall, which he could not take with him from one see to another, nor could it be used by his successor; and so the bestowal of this inexpensive garment—a slight scarf of white wool bordered with purple crosses, later, in Elizabeth's time, of white silk—became a great source of papal revenue, and indeed of extortion.

sermons, yet he is an informer very often, upon other men's information.

His Grace denieth that he ever heard of any such matter, as that the Jesuit should say, he would become a brave cardinal if Popery should come again (1). I know, T. C., that long since he is past shame, and a notorious liar; otherwise how durst he deny this, seeing Cliffe, an honest | and a godly cobbler, dwelling at Battle Bridge (2), 39
did justify this before his Grace's teeth, yea and will justify Page 41.
the same again if he be called? So will Atkinson too. Page 46.
Send for them if he dare! Ministers of the Gospel ought Page 44.
to be called priests, saith his Grace. What say you by that? Then good Sir John O'Cant. when wilt thou say mass at our house? His Grace is also 'persuaded that there ought to be' a lordly superiority among ministers (3). So was Judas 'persuaded' to sell his Master. If you would have these things proved, profane T. C. [Bishop Cooper] referreth you to his Grace's answer unto simple T. C. [Thos. Cartwright]; and to Dr. Bridges. That is, if you would learn any honesty you must go to the stews, or if you would have a good savour you must go to the sink for it! Why, thou unsavourly snuff, dost t'ow think that men know not Dr. Bridges and John Whitgift?

Yea, but his Grace also 'firmly believeth that Christ in soul descended into Hell' (4). This is the third point of his Catholic persuasion; but tell him from me, that he shall

(1) See THE EPISTLE, p. 52, *note* (1).

(2) Cliffe was apparently a man of some note among the anti-episcopal party. He figures in the gibing pages of *An Almond for a Parrat* (Petheram's ed.), p. 7, as 'profound Cliffe the ecclesiastical cobler'; see also p. 17. Battle Bridge, near old King's Cross, on the modern Caledonian Road, built across the upper Fleet or Holborn, and named after either a battle between Suetonius and Boadicea, or some engagement between Alfred and the Danes.

(3) 'Hee is likewise perswaded that there ought to be by the worde of God a superioritie among the Ministers of the Church, which is sufficiently prooued in his booke against *T[homas]*. *C[artwright]*. and *D. Bridges* booke likewise, and he is all times ready to justifie it, by the holy Scriptures, and by the testimony of all antiquitie.'—Whitgift in Bishop Cooper's *Admonition to the People*, p. 44.

(4) See THE EPISTLE, p. 56, *note* (4); THE MINERALLS, § 28, p. 191; HAY ANY WORKE, p. 280.

never be saved by this belief, and my finger in his mouth. Let him tell what our Saviour Christ should do, if he did not 'harrow Hell'? (1)

Where thou sayest Master Young had only [*i.e.* alone] the dealing with Thackwell the popish printer, without his Grace's privity, thou liest in thy throat. Master Young himself brought him to his Grace, who ordered the matter as it is set down in my 'PISTLE (2). But did not I say truly of thee that thou canst cog, face, and lie, as fast as a dog can trot, and that thou hast a right seasoned wainscoat of t'in owne, 'chwarnt te; ti vorehead zaze hard as horne? (3)

Concerning Waldegrave. It's no matter how you deal with him. He's a foolish fellow to suffer you to spoil his press and letters [types]. An' a had been my Worship's printer, I'd a kept him from your clutches (4). And yet it is pity to belie the devil; and therefore you shall not belie him and go scot free. As for the press that Waldegrave sold, he did it by order; viz. he sold it to an allowed [licensed] printer, J. C., one | of his own Company, with the knowledge of his Warden, Henry Denham, &c. (5). And call you this *favour*, in releasing him after long imprisonment? But I will give you a precedent of great favour indeed, wherein you may see what an ungrateful fellow Waldegrave is to his Grace, who hath been so kind to him from time [to] time. There being a controversy between another printer and Waldegrave (all matters of printing being committed by the Lords of the Council to

(1) According to the mediæval conception of Christ's descent into hell, the object of the *descensus* was to spoil, or harrow (the same as harry), the prison-house. Hone in his *Ancient Mysteries* (p. 138) reproduces an old copper-plate giving a realistic representation of Christ accomplishing this purpose.

(2) For Thackwell and Richard Young, see THE EPISTLE, 52, *note* (2).

(3) It is not needful to modernise this conventional west of England sentence. For the inclusion of Ich (= I) in *'chwarnt* (I warrant), see earlier in the present Tract, 257, *note* (4).

(4) Of course Waldegrave was 'his Worship's printer,' though he resigned the perilous office with the printing of the present Tract.

(5) See THE EPISTLE, p. 54, *note* (3). The J. C. here mentioned is probably John Charlewood, mentioned in THE EPISTLE at the page referred to, where a few particulars concerning him are given.

his Grace) Waldegrave made one of his company his friend (who could do much with his Grace) to deal for him; who brake the matter to his Worship, being at Croydon, in his orchard. So soon as the party mentioned Waldegrave, he sweetly answered him saying, if it had been any of the Company save him, he would have granted the suit; but in no case to Waldegrave. Well, Waldegrave obtained the R[ight] H[onourable] Lord Treasurer's letter in his behalf to his Grace; who, when he had read it, said 'I will answer my Lord Treasurer.' With that Waldegrave intreated for his favourable letter to the wardens of his Company; which in the end, through Dr. Cosins, he obtained; [and] though late, yet went home at night, thinking to deliver it in the morning. But before he was ready, the wardens were with him, and [ar]rested him with a pursuivant upon his Grace's commandment—Waldegrave telling them there was a letter from his Grace, which he received late the last night at Croydon. Who answered they knew it well enough, but this is his pleasure now. So they carried Waldegrave to prison, and in this his Grace was so good to him as to help him with an hundred marks over his shoulders. If this be your favour, God keep me from you, ka [quoth] Martin Marprelate. Bishops have justly received according to their deserts, having found greater favour at my Worship's hands than ever they deserved, being notorious, disobedient and godless persons, unthrifty spenders and consumers of the fruits, not of their own labours, | (as you say Waldegrave was) 41 but of the possessions of the Church, persons that have violated their faith to God, His Church, her Majesty, and this whole Kingdom, and wittingly bring us all, without the great mercy of God, to our undoing; so that our wives, children, and servants have cause to curse all lord bishops (1).

A new revenge for an old grudge.

(1) 'Waldegrave received justly according to his deserts, having founde before that time, greater favour than he deserved, being a notorious disobedient and godless person, an unthrifty spender and consumer of the fruits of his owne labours, one that hath violated his faith to his best and dearest friends, and wittingly brought them into

Lo, T. C. you see that I have a good gift in imitation; and, methinks, I have brought your words into a marvellous good sense, whereas, before, in the cause of Waldegrave, they were ill-favouredly wrested. And as for his wife and children, they have just cause to curse John of London, and John of Canterbury for their tyrannising over him, by imprisoning and spoiling his goods, and vexing his poor wife and children, with continual rifling his house with their pursuivants—who in November last violently rushed into his house, breaking through the main wall thereof after midnight, taking away his goods; for some of the pursuivants sold his books up and down the streets to watchmen and others (1). Ah, you antichristian Prelates, when will you make an end of defending your tyranny by the blood and rapine of her Majesty's subjects? *You* have been the consumers of the fruits of Waldegrave's labours. For have you not sent him so often to prison, that it seemed you made a common occupation thereof? For as soon as any book is printed in the defence of Christ's holy Discipline, or for the detecting of your antichristian dealings, but your ravening pursuivants fly city and country to seek for Waldegrave; as though he were bound by statute unto you, either to make known who printed seditious books against my Lord's face, or go to prison himself—and threatened with the rack! And are you not ashamed to say that he ever violated his faith? You know, well enough, that he is neither archbishop nor lord bishop.

O, the greatness of his Grace's favour!

The case thus stood. After he had remained a long time in prison—not that time when Hartwell, his Grace's secretary, wished that his Grace might never eat bit of bread after
42 he | released him—nor at that time when you, profane T. C., told him that all Puritans had traitorous hearts—nor

danger, to their undoing. His wife and children have cause to curse all wicked and ungodly Libellers.'—Bishop Cooper's *Admonition*, p. 41.

(1) Only Waldegrave's wife and children would be found at home at this time; the information that he had returned from Molesey (where he had just printed the Marprelate EPISTLE) reached the authorities, as so often in this story, too late to be of service. Waldegrave was at the time at Fawsley setting up the 'second Martin.' See THE JUST CENSURE AND REPROOF, p. 352, *note* (2).

at that time Waldgrave told his Grace that he was worse than Bonner in regard of the time—nor that time when he was strangely released by one of the Lord of good London's swans (1)—neither was it at that time when his Grace (good, conscionable, noble man!) violated his promise, in that he told the wardens of the Stationers' that if Waldegrave would come quietly to him, and cease printing of seditious books, he would pardon what was past; and the wardens promised his wife, that if he were committed, that they would lie at his Grace's gate till he were released; and for all this, yet he was committed to the White Lion (2), where he lay six weeks —nor it was not at that time when his Grace allowed Watson the pursuivant to take of Waldegrave 13*s.* 4*d.* for carrying of him to the White Lion—but it *was* that time, when his Grace kept him twenty weeks together in the White Lion, for printing *The Complaint of the Commonalty* (3), *The Practise of Prelates* (4), *A Learned Man's Judgment, &c.* (5). Means being used for his liberty, his friend who was bound for him told him [that] his liberty was obtained in the manner following. 'You must be bound, saith he, in a hundred pounds, to print no more books hereafter but such as shall be authorized by her Majesty or his Grace, or such as were before lawfully authorized. Whereunto he answered that it was not possible for him to contain himself within the compass of that bond, neither should his consent ever

(1) One of the dyers who laid a serious accusation of fraud against the Bishop of London was named Swan—see THE EPISTLE, p. 29, but I have no trace of his effecting Waldegrave's release from prison. Perhaps it is a printer's error for 'swain.'

(2) The prison in Southwark.

(3) *A Lamentable Complaint of the Commonalty, By way of Supplication To the High Court of Parliament, For a Learned Ministery. In Anno* 1585. [Brit. Mus. 4103, b.]

(4) *The Vnlawful Practises of Prelates Against Godly Ministers, The Maintainers of the Discipline of God.* [Brit. Mus. 111. a. 8.] This Puritan Tract must be clearly distinguished from the more famous work *The Practyse of Prelates*, by William Tyndale; for which see THESES MARTINIANÆ § 57, p. 315, *note* (3).

(5) *The Judgment of a most reuerend and learned Man from beyond sees concerning a threefold order of Bishops.* This tract and that mentioned in *note* (4) are included in *A Parte of a Register.* These are Arber's identifications, and though he queries them, he is no doubt quite correct. See his Bibliography prefacing his edition of John Udall's *Diotrephes.*

Whereby it may appear he swore not to his friend.

go to the same. The same will Dr. Cosins witness—that maidenly doctor who sits cheek-by-jowl with you—if he will speak a truth; which words Waldegrave uttered to him, going in the old Palace at Westminster, with his keeper, before he was released: yet he would gladly have his liberty if he might lawfully. For, said he, I being a poor workman to my Company, cannot possibly observe it. For many 43 books heretofore printed, had *Cum | privilegio*, and yet were never authorized. And, again, that it were but a folly for him to sue to her Majesty; the office were very base and unfit for her. And he might be well assured that Caiaphas of Cant. would never authorise anything for his behoof. And so it fell out. And thus Martin hath proved you in this, as in all other things, to be liars. And what is it that you Bishops and your hang-ons will not say by Waldegrave, whom you would hang, if you could? I will be brief in the rest; but so as [that the] reader may perceive that T. C. was hired to lie by commission (1).

Page 46. I will stand to it that his Grace accounteth the | 'preaching of the Word being the only ordinary means of salvation,' to be an heresy (2), and doth mortally persecute the same.

Page 47. His appellation (3) to the obedient clergy shall stand him in no stead when 'More Work for Cooper' is published. And there I will pay thee for abusing Master Wigginton, and

Page 47. Master Davison, whose good names can take no stain from a bishop's chops.

(1) These full details of Waldegrave's sufferings at the hands of the Archbishop may be accepted as authentic, as Waldegrave was engaged in printing the present Tract, and, no doubt, supplied the information.

(2) See THE EPISTLE, p. 65.

(3) Referring to the appeal which closes the following paragraph. 'The heathenish vntruth vttered diuers times in this booke, that the Archbishoppe should accompt preaching the word of God to be heresie, and mortally abhorre and persecute it, is rather to bee pitied than answered. . . . He doth bridle factious and vnlearned Preachers, such as the more part of that sect are, who notwithstanding crie out for a learned Ministerie, themselues being vnlearned, and so would be accounted of all men, if it were not *propter studium partium*. . . . Indeede our Church is too full of such talkers rather than sober teachers; whome hee professeth himselfe greatly to mislike. Otherwise hee defieth all *Martinistes* in *Englande* and doth appeale vnto the whole State of the learned and obedient Clergie for his innocencie therein.'—Bishop Cooper's *Admonition*, pp. 46, 47.

If his Grace rejected Master Evans for want of conformity, why is the *Quare impedit* (1) gotten against the Bishop of Worcester, by the noble Earl of Warwick, his [Evans's] patron? I hope he will see both the *Quare impedit*, and the *Premunire* too, brought upon the bones of Father Edmond [Freke] of Worcester. It is a common brag with his Grace's parasites and with himself, that he is *the second person in the land* (2). Page[s] 48, 49.

'More Work' shall pay his Grace for commending the Apocrypha, a profane and lying story in many places, to be unseparably joined with the Holy Word of God. You grant Dr. Spark to have set his Grace and yourself, T. C., at a *non plus*, for the Septuaginta is contrary to the Hebrew, and, therefore, you maintain contrary translations, and require men to approve both (3). 2 Esdr. 14[21–37], &c. Page 50.

Martin hath marred Richard Patrick's market; for otherwise he was in good hope to have a benefice at his Grace's hand, and to be made a minstrel (4).

Shameless and impudent wretches that dare deny John of Cant. | to have been at any time under Dr. Perne, but as a 44
'Fellow of the house where he was Master' (5); whereas all the world knoweth him to have been a poor scholar in that house. Yea, and his Grace hath often confessed that he, being there a poor scholar, was so poor as he had not a napkin to wipe his mouth, but, when he had gotten some fat meat off the Fellows' table (6), would go to the

(1) *Quare impedit*, the opening words of the writ issued against a bishop for not instituting the person nominated to a living by its legal patron.

(2) See THE EPISTLE, p. 68, *note* (2).

(3) An account of the conference between Whitgift and others of the one party and Spark and Travers of the opposite party is given in THE EPISTLE, p. 19, *n.* (1), and particulars in regard to the celebrated *non-plus* in the same Tract, p. 87, *note*. Whitgift required a declaration that the *Book of Common Prayer* contained nothing contrary to the Scriptures; Spark showed him that the Authorised Version of the Scriptures and the Prayer Book version of the Psalms contradicted each other point-blank.

(4) See THE EPISTLE, p. 96 (6), *note* (1).

(5) Whitgift was elected by the Bishop of Ely to be a perpetual Fellow of Peterhouse when Dr. Perne was the Master. See THE EPISTLE, p. 69, *note* (1).

(6) ℳ. 'of O the fellowes table.'

skrine (1) and first wipe his mouth on the on[e] side and then o' the other, because he wanted (2) a napkin. Judge you whether this be not a meaner state than to carry a cloak-bag; which is not spoken to upbraid any man's poverty, but to pull the pride of God's enemy an ace lower (3). Although we cannot believe Dr. Perne in the pulpit, yet in this point we will not refuse his testimony.

Page[s] 51, 52, 53 54. I am glad, John of London, you will not deny but you have the Dyers' cloth. Make restitution then! (4)—Thou madest the Porter of thy gate a minister, John, and thou mightest do it 'lawfully'? (5) Why so, I pray thee? Why, man, because he was almost blind, and at Paddington, being a small people, he could not starve as many souls as

Page[s] 55, 56. his Master doth, which hath a great charge.—I hope Master Madox will think scorn to ask John of London's forgiveness. The substance of the tale is true. I told you I had it at the second hand (6). Are you not ashamed to deny the elms to be cut down at Fulham? Why her Majesty's taker took them from John o' London (7). And, simple fellows, are ye not able to discern between a pleasant frump (8) given you by a councillor, and a speech used in good earnest? Alas, poor John o' London, dost thou think that Master Vice-Chamberlain spake as he thought? Then it is time to beg thee for a swag (9). And so it is if thou thinkest we will believe the turncoat Dr. Perne speaking unto us in his own name; who, like an apostate, hath out of the pulpit told so many

(1) Petheram suggests 'screen.'

(2) Lacked.

(3) There is here, of course, an implicit contrast between his sometime poverty and his archiepiscopal show and ostentation. See Paul's *Whitgift* (Wordsworth's *Lives*, iv.), pp. 387, 388.

(4) See the story of the dyers and their cloth in THE EPISTLE, p. 29, and Aylmer's defence given in a note.

(5) 'Al things considered, he thinketh that doing to be justifiable and lawfully done.'—Bishop Cooper's *Admonition, loc. cit.* See THE EPISTLE, pi 46, and the quotations given in *note* (2).

(6) Bishop Cooper's *Admonition*, p. 55; THE EPISTLE, pp. 48 ff.

(7) THE EPISTLE, p. 71; THE EPITOME, p. 227; Bishop Cooper's *Admonition* (Arber), 44.

(8) A lie (Halliwell). Petheram says it means a *jest* (note *in loc.*). 'Now commeth in Dame *Lawson* to frumpe the bishoppe with impudent . . . speech.'—Cooper's *Admonition*, 56.

(9) (A share of the) booty.

untruths (1). And, as it is as lawful to bowl o' the Sabbath as it is to eat (and for you to make dumb mi | nisters), as 45
it was for David to eat of the shew-bread (page 110), or for Page[s] 57, 58.
the Maccabees to fight on the Sabbath, or for Moses to grant a bill of divorcement; I perceive these men will have the good divinity, if it be to be gotten for money. Yea, and our Saviour Christ sware by His faith very often? How so, good John? I never heard of that before. Why, saith T[homas] C[ooper], He said, 'Amen,' 'Amen,' very often, and Amen is as much as 'by my faith' (page 62). Horrible and blasphemous beasts, whither will your madness grow in a while, if ye be not restrained? (2)—Master Allen, the Page 58.
grocer, is paid all save ten pound[s]. For the use of that, the executors have John o' London's blessing. And I think they are reasonably well served (3).

If the tale of Benison be not true, why was John of London Page 59.
allotted by the Council to pay him (I think) forty pounds for his false imprisonment (4)? John of London is not dumb, because he preaches sometimes thrice a year at Paul's Cross. Then we shall never make our money of it, I see (5).

But I pray thee T[homas] C[ooper] how canst thou Page[s] 6, 61,
excuse his blasphemy of *Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani?* 62.
There have been two outrageous facts amongst others committed in the world by those that profess true religion: the one was the betraying of our Saviour by Judas, an apostle; the other was the horrible mocking of His agony and bitter passion by John Aylmer, a bishop, in this speech (6). If he had been in some Reformed Churches, the blasphemer would have hardly escaped with his life.

(1) Bishop Aylmer quotes in his defence the Vice-Chamberlain and Dr. Perne. See THE EPISTLE, p. 47, and the footnote giving the quotation from Bishop Cooper's *Admonition*.
(2) THE EPISTLE, p. 22, and *note* (2) on Aylmer's defence in Cooper's *Admonition*.
(3) THE EPISTLE, p. 76; the *Admonition*, 58.
(4) THE EPISTLE, p. 93, *note* (2); the *Admonition*, 59.
(5) THE EPISTLE, *passim*; the *Admonition*, 60-62.
(6) THE EPISTLE, p. 93, *note* (1).

And is it true, sweet boy, indeed? Hath Leicestershire so embraced the Gospel without contention and that by Dumb John's means? (1) Little dost thou know what thou hast done now. How if Martin be a Leicestershire man; hast not thou then set out the praise of thine own bane? For Martin, I am sure, hath wrought your Caiaphas Chair more wrack and misery, than all the whole land beside. And therefore thou seest, a man may be so mad sometimes that he may praise he cannot tell what.

Page 63. 46 The Bi | shop of Rochester in presenting himself to a parsonage did no more than 'law allowed' him. And do so again, good John of Rochester, and it will be for thy credit.

Foh! These Puritans would find fault, I think, with John of Cant. if he, believing that 'Christ in soul' went to hell (2), should hold it unlawful for a man to pray unto Christ being in hell. And, sweet John of Cant., if ever thou prayedst in thy life for any bodies' souls, now pray for thy brother Dr. Squire'[s] and Tarleton's souls (3). They were honest fellows, though I think Dean John's ears be longer. For why, good, sweet John, may not your Worship do this, as well as William of Lincoln might pray that our souls should be with the souls of professed traitorous Papists? (4)

Page[s] 63, 64.

Page[s] 14, 65, 66, &c. The good Bishop of Winchester did not protest [against] that, at Sir Mary Overie (5), which was laid to his charge;

(1) 'Is he dumbe because hee was the onely preacher in *Leicestershire* for a space, as the noble Earle of *Huntingdon* can witnesse? and by their two meanes that shire, God be blessed, was conuerted and brought to that state that it is now in? which in true religion is aboue any other place, because they retaine the Gospell without contention, which few other places doe. And in Lincolneshire, &c."—Aylmer's Defence in Bishop Cooper's *Admonition*, 61.

(2) *Vide ante*, p. 271, and references given in *note* (4), and Bishop Cooper's *Admonition*, 44.

(3) This Dr. Squire can scarcely be Aylmer's son-in-law, and there is apparently no other of that name to whom Martin's allusion can appropriately refer. Tarleton is the celebrated comedian, once the Queen's jester, one whose gifts in low comedy commanded the laughter of the town. He died the previous September. A reference to him will be found in THE EPISTLE, p. 46.

(4) The reference is to Bishop Wickham's words in his funeral sermon on Mary Stuart. See THE EPISTLE, p. 95, § 5, *note* (2).

(5) For St. Mary Overie's Church, see in the present Tract, p. 224, *note* (4). For the sermon, see THE EPISTLE, p. 70, *note* (2).

but he spake some things that way. Well, Brother Winchester, you confess the most part, and we will believe the rest for your sake without witness. The Bishop of Winchester never said that it was an heresy to hold that the preaching of the Word was the only ordinary means to salvation; but inasmuch as Penry held that the effect of salvation could not be wrought by the Word read, he said that was not far from heresy. Why, Brother Cooper, what is this else but open confession? For John Penry, as appeareth in his writings, holdeth the Word read to be no ordinary means of salvation at all. This, I know, you will account an heresy, otherwise your case is damnable; [you] that cause the people to content themselves with reading, and hold that they may ordinarily be saved thereby (1). Page 71.

Yea, but T[homas Cooper] of Winchester disputed a Master of Art[s], forty-five years ago in divinity. Here is an old lad once. I hope that disputation was very cholericly performed. And he did once as pretty a thing as that came to. For once, preaching at Canter[bury], he was disposed to note out T. C., I mean simple T. C. [T. Cartwright], in his sermon. His part he played after this sort. He noted four great Hydras of the Gos | pel, in his 47 sermon. 1. Carnal security. 2. Heathenish gentility. 3. Obstinate Papistry. 4. Saith he, 'When I look in his forehead I find T. C. written therein, which I cannot otherwise interpret than 'thankless curiosity'; thankless for the benefits already received, and more curious than needs [be] in vain and needless questions. The Old Student did not know himself to be T. C. when he thus spake, and this is that thankless curiosity that hath answered Martin. Page[s] 72, 75.

Yea, and he saw Martin's picture drawn when he was a young man (2). I perceive, then, he was not blind, as the

(1) The reference to Cooper's *Admonition* should be pp. 72 vers. and 73. The words are quoted in a note in the present Tract, p. 214.

(2) This paragraph is based upon the following passage in the official defence, Martin's retort being to identify the allegorical characters in Cooper's original:—

'Now because *M. M.* is so notable a paynter of Bishops visages, and

old Porter of Paddington, whom John of London bedeaconed and beminstrelled. Lucian of Westminster himself was the painter. Midas of Cant[erbury] the judge. The one of the two women called 'Ignorance' was the Good Wife of Bath (1). 'Doctor Culpable,' [the] Warden of New College (2). The other called 'Jealous Suspicion' was the fox, John [Wolton] of Exeter. Then came Wynken de Worde, *alias* Dr. Prime, calumniator. This Wynken and his Lordship of Winchester, drew 'Innocency,' to wit, Martin Marprelate, gentleman, by the hair of his head. Then followed *Dolus, Fraus, Insidiæ:* to wit, Doctor Perne, Doctor Kenold, and Doctor Cosins. The treader was Cankered Malice. His eyes were fiery, his face thin and withered, pined away with melancholy; and this was Doctor

can purtrey them al with faces of seasoned wainscoat: it were good for him in some table to behold his owne ougly shape, that he and his children may learne to be ashamed of themselues. I saw his figure drawen and set forth in a table when I was a yong man: the paynter was one very nigh of his kinne: His name was *Lucian.* The figure was this, An ancient man of some authoritie sate vpon the iudgment seate: he was like *Mydas* that couetous King: for hee had long eares like an Asse, and had sitting on eche side of him a woman: the name of the one was *Ignorance,* the other was called *Ielous Suspicion,* which two made him very rash in credite. Then commeth in *M. Martin M.* otherwise called *Callumniator,* a false accuser, trimmed handsomely for his better credite, and not a wrinckle awry in his garment: but seemed somewhat to halte and not to goe vpright: his eyes and gesture fierce and fierie: In his left hand, he caried a flaming firebrand to note his furie. With his right hand he drewe by the haire of the head a young man, his name was *Innocencie,* who lifted vp his handes to heauen, protesting before God that he was giltlesse in the cause. There followed two or three, much like to schollers: their names Dolus, Fraus, Insidiæ. These clapped their Master on the backe to encourage him. And because Master *Martin* will be a gentleman, he had a *treader* (?) before him, an olde fellowe: his eyes were fierce, his face thinne and withered, his whole countenance much like to one pined away with a melancholy and fretting furie. His name was *Liuor,* that is, *cankred malice,* or enuie: A little behinde followed *dolefull Dame repentance* in mourning apparell, and looking backe with shame and teares, goeth to meete *Lady Trueth,* comming somewhat after. In the toppe of the table this sentence was written, *Who so euer slaundereth honest men, shall come to iust punishment.* In the lower part is this, *Nothing can be safe from the backbiting tongue. . . .* If *Martin* that delighteth so much in himselfe, would discreetely beholde this Table, I trust hee would diminish some part of his follie.'—Bishop Cooper's *Admonition* (Arber), 71, 72.

(1) The characters in the Canterbury Tales were universally familiar. The person further indicated by Martin was probably sufficiently notorious to be identified.

(2) Martin Colepepper, Warden of New College, 1573—1599.

Copcot. Then followed Doleful Repentance, that is, Dean John repenting that ever he had writtten in the bishops' behalf; because his Grace is not as good as his word. T. C[ooper], consider this picture until we meet again.

Now my business calleth me away. I am travelling towards Banbury; for I hear say that there has been old ado! For bakers' daughters would have knights, whether they would or no. I will learn the truth hereof, and so I will post to Solihull; and, visiting some parts of Stafford, Warwick, and Northampton shires, I will make a journey back again to Norfolk and Suffolk. I have a register at Bury [St. Edmund's]. And by that time my Visitors will be come out of Cornwall, Devon and Hampshire.

And now, fare thee well, good Profane T. C. I | cannot [48] now meddle with the long period which thou hast in the 33rd [and] 34th pag[es] of thy book. It is but thirty-eight lines. Thou art longer-winded than Dean John, I see; though he hath longer periods than that which I set down.

Whereas thou dost complain that the livings of our bishops are so small that some of their children are like to go a-begging, there is a present remedy for that. For to what end else is John of Cant. unmarried, but to provide for the bishops' children who shall be poorly left? Though, indeed, I never said in my life that there was ever any great familiarity (though I know there was some acquaintance) between Mistress Toye and John Whitgift. And I'll befy 'em, I'll befy 'em, that will say so of me. And wherefore is Richard [Howland] of Peterborough unmarried, but to provide for other men's children? O, now I remember me —he has also a charge to provide for; his hostess and cousin of Sibson. The petticoat he bestowed upon her, within this six months, was not the best in England. The token was not unmeet for her state. Farewell, farewell, farewell, old Martin! And keep thee out of their hands for all that. For thou art a shrewd fellow; thou wilt one day overthrow them. Amen. And then thou swearest by thy faith, quoth John of London.

Martin the Metropolitan to John the Metropolitan saith,
Nemo confidat nimium secundis.

Martin to his troubled sons saith,
Nemo desperet meliora lapsus
Anglia Martinis disce favere tuis.

[In the original the following errata are given. In the foregoing text they are corrected.]

FAULTS ESCAPED.

Title, line 10, read 'Chaplain hath shewed himself in his late *Admonition to the People of England* to be, &c.'

Epistle, page 3, read *Eulogein* for *Eulogeni*.

Bear with the rest of the faults.

285-250

V. THESES MARTINIANÆ

[*MARTIN JUNIOR*]

Printed at the Priory, Wolston, the residence of
Roger Wigston, Esq., July 22nd, 1589

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

With the publication of the Coventry Tracts Robert Waldegrave ceased to occupy the anxious and dangerous post of printer to Martin Marprelate. His place was occupied by John Hodgkins, ambiguously described as a 'saltpeterman,' but a competent printer, and a very staunch and determined fellow. The secret press, much to his relief, was removed from the house of John Hales to the Priory at Wolston, a village lying six miles away to the south-east. This was the residence of Roger Wigston. He and his wife were zealous reformers, Mrs. Wigston being one of the most fearless and outspoken of all those who gave shelter and help to the secret press. At the Priory Hodgkins with two assistants printed the present tract, Theses Martinianæ, commonly known as Martin Junior, and the Just Censure and Reproofe, commonly known as Martin Senior.

The assumption of the Tract is that it is published by a person calling himself Martin Junior. He found the 'copy,' together with certain other papers, beside a bush, dropped on the ground by a passer-by. It had been lying there all night in the rain. In publishing it he scrupulously leaves the text as it is, but adds an explanatory word and an epilogue. That this is not Marprelate's usual banter about the authorship and the printing of his books seems certain, both from the imperfect form in which the Tract has been printed, and from the evidence given later under torture by John Hodgkins. The printing at Wolston was superintended by John Penry, who was joined for a few days by Job Throkmorton, of Haseley Manor.

Theses Martinianæ is a small octavo of thirty-one pages

in roman type. It was issued from the press on July 22nd, 1589. The story of its production, taken chiefly from the interesting evidence of Hodgkins' assistants, Valentine Simms and Arthur Thomlyn, preserved for us in the *Manchester Papers*, will be found in the *Historical Introduction*, pp. 186, 187, 295—303. We have there discussed the significance of the imperfect form in which the Tract was issued in connection with our inquiries into the identity of Martin Marprelate. The point at issue is mentioned below.

The substance of the present Tract consists of 110 theses, points taken from the writings of the bishops mainly, and offered as theses for disputation, after the manner of the 'schools' at the universities. Subjects stated categorically were classed as *theses*, stated interrogatively as *quæstiones*. It is worthy at least of passing note that when he retired to Scotland Penry published a translation of a collection of *Propositions and Principles* which had been 'propounded and disputed in the University of Geneva,' the title of the original, published in 1586, being *Theses Theologicæ in Schola Genevensi*. It was intended that Marprelate's *Theses* should be accompanied by references or proofs, but the exigencies of the writer, the extreme secrecy required, absence from the books of reference, the haste with which the Tract was written, compelled their omission. Both the Wolston 'Martins' were *ad interim* publications. Marprelate was bestowing his time and his strength upon the composition of the long-promised More Work for the Cooper. Under more favourable circumstances he would not only have completed the unfinished sentences, but would also have winnowed out a number of superfluous theses. Martin Junior says, 'I myself do perceive some tautologies in the Conclusions, as being the first draft.' See below, p. 325.

We note in the following pages the increasing efforts of the hierarchy to discover Marprelate and his press, also the continuing dislike on the part of the precise brethren of the form of the attack made upon the bishops. On the

other hand, Martin finds increasing support for the gravamen of his charge in the writings of the martyrs, chief among them being the illustrious William Tyndale. Among the pioneers of the English Reformation Tyndale had the most Pauline grasp of the principles of Christianity, and it is he who must be regarded as the father of English Evangelical theology. Martin makes a strong appeal to his writings.

The bearing of the incomplete sentences in THESES MARTINIANÆ upon the problem of the authorship of the Marprelate Tracts is briefly this. The persons most closely related to the unknown writer, and chiefly responsible for the publication of his pamphlets, were, so far as we know, John Penry and Job Throkmorton. We have shown that Penry could not have been the writer, but it was through his hands that the Marprelate manuscripts passed from the author to the printer. On the other hand, the evidence identifying Throkmorton with Martin Marprelate, if not complete, is very weighty, and not easily set aside even by his disavowal. There is, moreover, no violent improbability in the assumption that Penry is Martin Junior, the alleged editor of THESES, and that the account given in these pages, partly confirmed as it is by the testimony of Hodgkins, how the 'copy' reached the hands of the latter, is not Martinist banter, but actual history. But on this assumption we are met with the crucial question, Why were not the broken sentences completed when Penry and Throkmorton came to Wolston Priory to oversee the printing? At the present stage of the inquiry this is the loophole through which we may escape from all our conjectures, and imagine some great and still unknown English reformer as the writer of the Marprelate Tracts.

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THESES MARTINIANÆ:

That is,

CERTAIN DEMONSTRATIVE

Conclusions, set down and collected (as it should seem) by that famous and renowned Clerk, the reverend Martin Marprelate the Great: serving as a manifest and sufficient confutation of all that ever the College of Cater-caps, with their whole band of Clergy-priests, have, or can bring for the defence of their ambitious and antichristian Prelacies.

PUBLISHED AND SET FORTH

as an after-birth of the noble Gentleman Himself by a pretty stripling of his, MARTIN JUNIOR, *and dedicated by him to his good neame and nuncka* (1) *Master* John Kankerbury:
How the young man came by them, the Reader shall understand sufficiently in the Epilogue.
In the meantime, whosoever can bring me acquainted with my father, I'll be bound he shall not lose his labour.

Printed by the assignes of Martin Junior, without any *privilege of the Cater-caps.*

(1) Neame (or neme) and nuncka were employed familiarly as synonyms for uncle.

THESES MARTINIANAE:

That is,

CERTAINE DEMONSTRATIVE Concluſions, ſette downe and collected (as it ſhould ſeeme) by that famous and renowmed Clarke, the reuerend Martin Marprelate the great: ſeruing as a manifeſt and ſufficient confutation of al that euer the Collodge of Catercaps with their whole band of Clergie-prieſts, haue, or canbring for the defence of their ambitious and Antichriſtian Prelacie.

PVBLISHED AND SET FOORTH as an after-birth of the noble Gentleman himſelfe, by a prety ſtripling of his, MARTIN IVNIOR, *and dedicated by him to his good neame and nuncka, Maiſter* Iohn Kankerbury: *Howu the yongman came by them, the Reader ſhall vnderſtande ſufficiently in the Epilogue. In the meane time, vvhoſoeuer can bring mee acquainted vvith my father, Ile bee bounde hee ſhall not looſe his labour.*

Printed by the aſsignes of Martin Iunior, without any priuiledge of the Catercaps.

[MARTIN JUNIOR'S PROLOGUE]

Martin Junior, son unto the renowned and worthy *Martin Marprelate* the Great, to the Reader

Thou shalt receive (good Reader) before I set down unto thee anything of mine own, certain of those things of my Father's doings, which I found among his unperfect papers. I have not changed anything in them, detracted anything from them, nor added unto them aught of mine own; but, as I found them, so I have delivered them unto thee. Mine own measure thou shalt understand at the latter end, in my Epilogue to my nuncle Canterbury. This small thing that followeth before his Theses, is also his own. I have set down the speech as I found it, though unperfect. One thing I am sorry for; that the speech pretendeth the old man to be something discouraged in his courses.

THESES MARTINIANÆ

I. The Preface

I see my doings and my course misliked of many, both the good and the bad; though, also, I have favourers of both sorts. The Bishops and their train, though they stumble at the cause, yet especially mislike my manner of writing. Those whom foolishly men call Puritans, like (of) the matter I have handled, but the form they cannot brook. So that, herein, I have them both for my adversaries. But now, what if I should take the course (1)

in certain Theses or Conclusions, without inveighing against either person or cause? Might I not then hope my doings would be altogether approved of the one, and not so greatly scorned at by the other? Surely, otherwise, they should do me great injury, and show that they are those who delight neither in heat nor cold; and so make me as weary in seeking how to fit them, as the Bishops are in labouring how to find me. The Bishops, I fear, are past my cure, and it may be I was unwise in taking that charge upon me. If that which I have already done can do them any good, or anywise further the cause which I love, I shall be glad. If not, what hope is there of amending them this way? The best is, I know how to mend myself. For good leave have I to give over my desperate cure; and, with this farewell unto them, I wish them a better surgeon. Yet, ere I leave them, I do here offer unto the view of the world, some part of their monstrous corruptions; in defence whereof, for their lives dare not they in any learned meeting or assembly dispute with

(1) The difficulties attending the production of this Tract, as stated in the Introductory Note, must explain this break in the text. A correction was probably meditated; but, as it would appear, the corrected copy was delayed, and in the stress of the circumstances it had to go forth as above. There is no serious break in the sense. See reference on the previous page to the imperfection of the text.

me, or attempt to overthrow mine assertions by modest writings, handled anything scholar | -like, that is, by good A ii.
and sound syllogisms, which have both their *major* and *minor*, confirmed by the Word. I would (1) once see them enter into either of these courses; for as yet they have been far from both. Fire and faggot, bands and blows, railing and reviling, are, and have been hitherto, their common weapons. As for slandering and lying, it is the greatest piece of their holy profession. And these, with their bare assertions, and their wretched cleaving to popish absurdities, are, in a manner, the only proofs and tried maxims they offer unto the Church in this age. And so, if a man would be confuted, I must needs say my Lord of Winchester hath long ago sufficiently and dexterously (2) performed it. '*I am not of opinion*' saith he, 'that *una semper debet esse œconomia Ecclesiæ*—that the government of the Church should always, and in all places, be one and the same,'—especially by a company of Elders. Lo, Sir! what say you to this? Here is enough, I trow, for any man's satisfaction, that Bishop Cooper is 'not of opinion.' Yea, but our Saviour Christ, His Apostles, and holy Martyrs are of opinion that the government of the Church, should always and in all places be one, especially, by a company of Elders. As for my Lord of Winchester's *opinion*, we have little or nothing to do with that; nor no great matter which side it lean to; whether with or against the truth. For if his bishopric and unruly jurisdiction were no more noisome and hurtful to the Church of God than his learning and opinion is hurtful to the cause of Discipline, he might sit long enough undistempered in his chair for us: the good old man might cough his fill, and be quiet, having his faith | ful promise and book-oath (as we have A ii. vers.
also John a Bridges' and Bancroft's) that by arguments he will never hurt us. For they must think that it is not such dry-blows (3) as this, *I am not of opinion, &c.*, that will

(1) That is, '*I wish* once to see them.'
(2) *fit.* dexterely.
(3) Halliwell gives dry in this conjunction the meaning of hard or severe. Martin would seem to employ it with the opposite meaning.

satisfy the learned, and answer the demonstrations that are brought on the contrary side. If, then, they have, indeed, any purpose at all, to quiet the contentions of our Church, let them bring unto us, not these babbles of their own, *We are not of opinion, &c.*, but some sound warrant from the Word, that Christ and His Apostles *were not of opinion* with us, in the points wherein we truly charge them to have erred; otherwise their 812 their 1401 (1)

II. Theses Martinianæ

That is,

The unanswerable Conclusions of Martin, wherein are plainly set down many strange and unknown things (if hereafter they may proved) against the Bishops. Compiled by Martin the Great: found and published by *Martin Junior*, for the benefit of posterity, if his father (2) should be slain.

1. That all the officers of a true and lawful church government, in regard of their offices, are members of the visible

(1) Another instance of the unfinished state of the present Tract. The numbers are no doubt references to the pages of Bridges' *Defence*, from which Martin purposed making illustrative extracts. Page 812 is occupied with 'The Pastor's office in buriall,' but while making large admissions in regard to the duties of burial and marriage, Dr. Bridges finds proof in the Burial Office of the care of the Church for the ministry of the Word. He says, 'I graunt them also upon *necessitie* or occasion, both that other may *burie the dead* and that *the dead* also may be *buried* amongst us otherwise [than is prescribed], and that *properly* of itself, it is no part at all of his *proper office*, no more than is the *solemnizing of mariage*. Howbeit, it is such an action as may be well adioyned to his *office*, without any blemish thereunto. Yea, if the publike *ministration of the word* be a *proper* part of his *office*, which our Brethren do not denie; if there be any *publike* use and *ministerie of the word* at the time of the *buriall of the dead:* then how hath not the pastor his part therein?'

Page 1401 is the last page in the *Defence*. It is of a benedictory character, urging to obedience to the laws ecclesiastical and civil, submission to her Majesty, and giving praise to the Divine Persons and beseeching the Brethren to join in the 'good clerkes part' by saying 'Amen.' With such gentle words did Bridges dismiss the men whom he persecuted with rigour. He was an example of a man whose bite is worse than his bark. On the significance of these unfinished sentences and incomplete references in relation to the authorship of the Theses see above, 'Introductory Note,' p. 289, and the references there given to the discussion of the matter in the *Hist. Intro.*

(2) M. 'fathers should' by misprint.

body of Christ, which is the Church. Rom. $12^{4,5}$, &c.; 1 Cor. $12^{8,28}$.

2. That none but Christ alone is to ordain the members of His body, to wit, of the Church. Be | cause, A iii.

3. That the Lord, in His Word, hath left the Church perfect in all her members, which He should not have done, if He had not ordained all the officers, namely, the members thereof; and so He should have the building of His Church unperfect; and so it must continue; for who will presume to finish that which He hath left undone in the building of His Church?

4. That to ordain a perfect and an unchangeable government of the Church is a part of Christ's prerogative royal, and therefore cannot, without the great derogation of the Son of God, be claimed by any Church or man.

5. That if Christ did not ordain a Church government which at the pleasure of man can not be changed, then He is inferior unto Moses; for the government placed by him might no man (to) alter, and thereto might no man add anything. Heb. $3^{2,3}$.

6. That the Lord, in the New Testament, did appoint as perfect and unchangeable a form of Church government in the offices and officers thereof, as Moses did in the old.

7. That the Lord never placed any offices in the New Testament but the offices of the Apostles, Prophets, Evangelists, Pastors, Doctors, Elders and Deacons.

8. That unto the end of the world there were no other offices to be placed in the Church, but only these [Ephes. 4^{12}].

9. That none of these were, and so no offices of a lawful Church-government are to be removed out of the Church by any but by the Lord Christ | Himself, who placed them; A iii. vers because they are the members of His body, in the placing or displacing whereof man hath no skill, nor yet commission to deal.

10. That the Lord for the causes seeming good to His own wisdom (whereof, any further than He hath set down

in His word, man is not to enquire) hath removed out of the Church the offices of Apostles, Prophets and Evangelists.

11. That the want of these can be no maim unto the Church, seeing the Lord, by removing them thence, sheweth that the body can have no use of them.

12. That the Church is now, unto the world's end, to have none other offices in it but of pastors, doctors, elders and deacons.

13. That the displacing, or the want of these, is a maim unto the church: And therefore,

14. That the churches of God in Denmark, Saxony, Tygurium (1), &c., wanting this government by these offices, are to be accepted maimed and unperfect.

15. That it is as good a reason, yea, and a far better, to say that learned men and valiant captains must have their eyes put out, because Homer and Zisca (2) were blind, as to avouch that the Church of England may not be governed by Pastors, Doctors, Elders and Deacons, because other good Churches want this regiment [rule].

16. That to place others in the stead of these, is both a maiming and a deforming of the Church.

17. That no magistrate may lawfully maim or deform the body of Christ, which is the Church: and there-
A iv. fore, |

18. That no lawful church government is changeable at the pleasure of the magistrate.

19. That the platform of government by Pastors, Doctors, Elders and Deacons was not devised by man, but by our Saviour Christ Himself the only Head, and alone universal Bishop of His Church, as it is set down, Rom. $12^{4,5}$,

(1) Tygurium, *i.e.* Zurich. The spelling is peculiar; the more usual form is Tigurum. Cotton (*Typog. Gaz.*) gives Tigurinus Pagus, Turigum, and Turicum, as variable forms. The city of Zurich is selected as the home of Zwingli and the centre and chief stronghold of the reform movement in the Swiss cantons.

(2) Zisca (John Trocznowski), the general who led the Bohemian reformers, was, during the latter part of his career, totally blind. He died in 1424.

Ephes. 4^{12}, and 1 Cor. $12^{28,28}$. 'God hath ordained,' saith the Apostle (1).

20. That no inconvenience can possibly come unto any State, by receiving this government.

21. That the true stability of all Christian States and Commonwealths consisteth in the sound execution of this church government, by Pastors, Doctors, Elders and Deacons.

22. That of necessity all Christian Magistrates are bound to receive this government by Pastors, Doctors, Elders and Deacons, and to abolish all other church governments.

23. That a church government, being the ordinance of the Magistrate, or of the Church, is an unlawful church government.

24. That it is merely (2) and utterly unlawful for any man, Church, or State, to ordain any church government, or any church officer, save that government and those officers before-named: Because

25. That a church government consisting of any other officers but Pastors, Doctors, Elders and Deacons is a government of maimed and misshapen members: Therefore,

26. That our church government in England by lord archbishops and bishops is a government of maimed, unnatural, and deformed members, | serving for no use in the Church of God: therefore also A iv. vers.

27. That no lord bishop is to be maintained in any Christian Commonwealth.

28. That those Kingdoms and States, who defend any church government save this of Pastors, Doctors, Elders and Deacons, are in danger of utter destruction, inasmuch as they defend the maim and deformity of the church; and therefore

29. That our lord archbishops and bishops, in defending this their ungodly government, are not only traitors to God

(1) This is the translation of the Genevan version used by the Puritans and Evangelical reformers generally. 'God hath set' is the more accurate translation of the Authorized Version and of the later Revised Version.

(2) Purely or simply.

and His Church, but utter enemies unto her Majesty and the State, inasmuch as they enforce the Lord by these their sins to draw the sword against us to our utter ruin.

30. That our lord archbishops and bishops hold it lawful for our magistrates to maim and deform the Church.

31. That they hold Jesus Christ to have left behind Him an unperfect and maimed Church, wanting some of her members.

32. That they hold it lawful for the magistrate to abolish the true and natural members of the body, and to attempt the making of new by his own invention.

33. That they, to wit, archbishops and bishops, are the maim of our Church, and like to be the destruction of our Commonwealth.

34. That the warrant that the archbishops and bishops have for their places, can be no better than the warrant which the maintenance of the open and most monstrous whoredom in the Stewes had in times past amongst us. For by the
B i. Word | they are condemned to be the maim or deformity of the Church; or both. And as for the laws that maintain them, being the wound and sore of the Church, they are no more to be accounted of than the laws maintaining the stewes (1).

35. That the places of lord bishops are neither warranted by the word of God, nor by any lawful human constitutions.

36. That the government of the Church of England by lord archbishops and bishops is not a church government set down in the Word, or which can be defended to be God's ordinance.

37. That the government of lord archbishops and bishops is unlawful, notwithstanding it be maintained and in force by human laws and ordinances.

(1) See *Hist. Intro.* 259 (*b*), and especially the note on p. 260, where this disagreeable reference is explained. The brothels in Southwark were formerly legalized and under the control of the Bishop of Winchester, till they were abolished in 1512. But though legal they were condemned by God's law.

38. That the human laws maintaining them are wicked and ungodly, and to be abrogated of all Christian magistrates.

39. That to be a lord bishop, then, is simply unlawful in itself, that is, in respect of the office; though the man sustaining the same should not abuse it as our prelates do.

40. To be a lord bishop in itself, simply, besides the abuse, consisteth of two monstrous parts, whereof neither ought to be in him that professeth himself a minister.

41. The first is, to bear an inequal and a lordly superiority over his brethren in the ministry, and the rest of the Church of God under his jurisdiction.

42. The second is, the joining of the civil magistracy unto the ministry.

That both these parts are condemned by the | written word of God: Luke 22^{25}; 1 Pet. $5^{1,2}$; Matt. 20^{25}; Mark 10^{42}; 1 Cor. 8^{10}; Luke 12^{14}; 2 Tim. 2^{4}; and John 18^{36}; compared with Matt. 10^{25}; Luke 16^{13} (1). B i. vers.

(1) It is interesting to have before us the chief Scriptural references upon which the seekers after reformation based so confidently their complete antagonism to the prelatical view of episcopacy. I quote from the Genevan version:—

Luke 22^{25} (Matt. 20^{25} and Mark 10^{42} are parallels).—'And he sayd vnto them, The kynges of the Gentiles raygne ouer them, and they that beare rule ouer them, are called gracious Lordes.'

The following verse is usually quoted along with the last, especially its first sentence:—

Ver. 26.—'But ye shal not be so; but he that is greatest among you, shalbe as the least: and he that is chiefe, shalbe as he that serueth.'

1 Peter $5^{1,\ 2}$.—'The Elders which are amonge you I beseche which am also an Elder, and a wytnes of the afflictions of Christe, and also a partaker of the glorie that shalbe opened. Fede the flocke of God, which dependeth vpon you, caring for it, not as thogh ye were compelled therto, but wyllingly: not for the desire of filthy lucre, but of a good mynde.' (Ver. 3.—'Not as thogh ye were lordes ouer *Gods* heritage: but that ye be ensamples to the flocke.')

1 Cor. 8^{10}. (This was employed against those who argued that to submit to prelacy was an allowable expediency.)—'For yf any man se thee which hast knowledge, syt at meat in the idols temple, shal not the conscience of him which is weake be boldened to eat those thinges which are offered to idoles?'

Luke $12^{13,\ 14}$.—'(One of the compagnie sayd vnto him, Master, byd my brother deuide the inheritance with me) And he sayd vnto him, Man who made me a iudge, or a deuider ouer you?'

2 Tim. 2^{4}.—'No man that warreth entangleth him selfe with worldly business: because he wolde please him that hath chosen him to be a souldier.'

43. That the hierarchy of bishops, in their superiority over their brethren, and their civil offices hath been gainsaid and withstood by the visible church of God successively, and without intermission, for these almost 500 years last past.

44. That this cause of overthrowing the state of lord bishops, and bringing in the equality of Ministers, is no new cause, but that which hath been many years ago held and maintained, even in the fire, by the holy martyrs of Christ Jesus.

45. That this wicked government of bishops was an especial point, gainsaid by the servants of God in the time of King Henry the eighth and Q. Mary; and in the withstanding whereof they died, the holy martyrs of Christ Jesus (1).

John 18^{36}.—'Iesus answered, My kingdome is not of this world: if my kyngdome were of this worlde, then would my seruants suerly fyght, that I shulde not be deliuered to the Iewes: but now is my kyngdome not from hence.'

The above are to be compared with the following:—

Matt. 10^{25}.—'It is inough for the disciple to be as his master is, and that the seruant be as his Lord is. If they haue called the Lord of the house Beelzebub, how muche more them of his household?'

Luke 16^{13}.—'No seruant can serue two masters, for ether he shal hate the one, and loue the other: or els he shal leane to the one, and despise the other. Ye can not serue God and riches.'

Remembering that both parties to the discussion professed alike absolute belief in the authority of Scripture, with this catena of texts before us we can easily see the strength of the onslaught against 'superiority' or prelacy, and especially against its worldly pomp and circumstance, made by the reformers, from Tyndale—from whom they derived most of their arguments—to Martin Marprelate. Reference has frequently been made to Aylmer's *Harborowe*. In that remarkable book he uses most of these points against the bishops. He quotes, for instance, Luke 12^{14}, 'Who made me a Iudge betweene you?' He then proceeds, 'As though hee would saye, It belongeth not to my office to determine matters of pollicie and inheritance, that belongeth to the civill Magistrate, &c.' Then he quotes John 18^{36}: 'My kingdome is not of this world.' . . . 'If Imperiall iurisdiction belonged to him, why refused he his calling? If it did not, where had Paul or any other[s] any authoritie to meddle with that which he refused? Seeing hee sayeth, As my Father sent me, so sende I you.' Later in the same paragraph Aylmer quotes Luke 22^{25}: 'Princes of the Nations do beare rule like Lords, it shall not be so with you,' and also 2 Tim. 2^{4}: 'None going to warre intangleth him selfe with the affaires of this life: it is enough for them to waite upon one office, to attende as sole priestes, not as errant [wandering] Baylliffes.' These were his sentiments before the dignity and emoluments of a lord bishop corrupted his judgment.

(1) Elizabeth and her bishops were less advanced than the leading reformers of the previous reigns, and especially, as Martin notes, and as

46. That none ever defended this hierarchy of bishops to be lawful but Papists, or such as were infected with Popish errors.

might have been expected, than those of the reformers who so firmly and definitely held Evangelical principles that they went to the stake in defence of them. The volume edited by John Foxe, quoted several times in the course of the Tracts (briefly described in a note to Thesis 57, see below, p. 315, and a great favourite with the reforming party), containing the works of the martyrs Tyndale, Frith and Barnes, shows that those distinguished men were the true forefathers of the 'seekers after reformation' in the reign of Elizabeth, and of the Evangelical Nonconformists of later days. A few extracts from Fox's volume will illustrate their views on the Roman and Anglican conception of episcopacy :—

(a) *On bishops as worldly lords and civil magistrates.*

'Let [kynges] rule their Realmes them selues, wyth the helpe of laye men that are sage, &c. Is it not a shame aboue all shames and a monstrous thing, that no man should be founde able to gouerne a wordly kyngdome saue byshops and prelates . . . ?' The familiar texts John 18^{36}, Luke 12^{25}, 9^{62}, Matt. 6^{24}, are then quoted.—Tyndale, *Obedience of a Christian Man* (*Works*, 124 a, b).

'Is it not a marvelous court that they haue? wherein was neuer man accused of heresie, were he learned or not learned, but they have found him gilty? Is it not a maruelous court that neuer hath innocentes? . . . And if any man speak of Gods law and right conscience agaynst thys damnable tyranny, little will they stick to make him an heretick. And if that will not helpe (to colour and maintaine their oppression) then adde they treason against your grace, though hee bee neuer so true a subiect.'—Robert Barnes, *Supplication to Hen. VIII.* (*Works*, 183, a, b).

'After that [the office of bishop] was made so honorable and profitable, they that were worst both in learnyng and lyuyng most laboured for it. For they that were vertuous wold not entangle them selues with the vayne pride of this world, and weare three crownes of gold, where Christ dyd weare one of thorne.'—John Frith, *Answere to More* (*Ibid.* 116 a).

(b) *On the identity of bishop and elder.*

'Wherefore the Apostles . . . ordeined . . . two officers : One called after the Grecke worde Byshop, in English an ouersear : which same was [also] called priest after the Greeke, Elder in English, because of his age, discretion and sadnesse [gravity].'—Tyndale, *Practise of Prelates* (*Works*, 345 b). See also *Obedience of a Ch. man* (*Ibid.* 133), also, and especially, *An Answere to More's Dialogue* (*Ibid.* 251 b).

(c) *On the functions of bishops.*

'Bishops and priestes that preach not, or that preach ought saue Gods word, are none of Christes, nor of hys annoyntyng : but seruantes of the beast.'—Tyndale, *The Obedience* (*Works*, 135 b).

'Seyng also that the office of an Apostle is to preach only, how can the Pope challenge with right any authority where he preacheth not?'—Tyndale, *Ibid.*, p. 126 a.

The following satire is equally to the point :—

'The holy workes of Byshops' (marg. note).—'And therefore you haue applyed your selues to other greater matters, as to christening of belles, to halowing of Churches, to blessing of candles, to consecrating of holy oyle, to halowing of chalesies [chalices]

47. That we have not expelled and banished every part of Popery, as long as we maintain lord bishops and their seats.

48. That the offices of lord archbishops and bishops, together with other their corruptions, are condemned by the doctrine of the Church of England.

49. That the doctrine of the Church of England condemning the places of lord bishops is approved by the statutes of this Kingdom and her Majesty's royal prerogative.

B ii. 50. That to be a lord bishop is directly against | the statute 13 Eliz., rightly understood, and flatly condemned by her Majesty's royal privilege.

51. That all her Majesty's loving subjects, ministers especially, are bound by statute (and have the allowance of the doctrine of the Church of England published with her Majesty's prerogative) not to acknowledge, yea, to disavow and withstand the places and callings of lord bishops.

52. That the doctrine of the Church of England in the days of King Henry the Eighth was the doctrine which the blessed martyrs of Christ Jesus Master Tyndale, Master Doctor Barnes and Master Fryth taught them (1) and delivered unto us.

53. That this doctrine of theirs is now to be accounted the doctrine of the Church of England, inasmuch as, being the doctrine of Christ and His apostles, it is published in print by Master Foxe, and that by her Majesty's privilege (2).

54. That this their doctrine is maintained by statute, under the name of the doctrine of the Faith and Sacraments.

vestements and aulters and to geuing 40 dayes of pardon to them that receiueth your blessings in the streate, and to some that visyte holy saintes, and such like greate matters which pertayneth nothing to your othe [at ordination].'—R. Barnes, *A Supplication* (*Works*, 196 b).

(d) *Episcopal unity of the Church.*

'How commeth it that *Rochester* [John Fisher] will not let vs be called one congregation be [by] the reason of one God, one Christ, one spirite, one Gospell, one fayth, one hope, and one Baptisme, as well as because of one Pope?'—Tyndale, *The Obedience* (*Works*, 126 a).

See also the quotation from the *Practyse of Prelates*, under Thesis 57.

(1) That is, the members of the Church of England.

(2) See under § 57 below, at the close of note.

55. That the doctrine which, [being] according to the Word, is published by Master Foxe in the *Book of Martyrs*, seeing it is *cum privilegio* (1), is also to be accounted the doctrine of Faith and Sacraments in the Church of England, and so is approved by statute.

56. That upon these former grounds we may safely hold those Conclusions following, and are thereby allowed by statute and her Majesty's prerogative (2).

57. That by the doctrine of the Church of England it is not possible that, naturally, there can | be any good lord bishop.—Master Tyndal's *Practice of Prelates* (3), p. 374. B ii. vers.

58. That by the doctrine of the Church of England a bishopric is a superfluous honour, and a lewd libertie. *Ibid.*

59. That by the doctrine of the Church of England our bishops are none of the Lord's anointing, but servants of the Beast (4).

60. That by the doctrine of the Church of England our

(1) So stated on the title-page of Foxe's *Acts and Mon.*

(2) That is 'the Conclusions which follow and which are thereby &c.' The position is that Foxe's ed. of the *Works of Tyndale, Barnes, and Fryth* and his *Acts and Mon.* were published *cum privilegio*. Having thus the approval of the episcopal censorship, the views they contain, which are embodied in the theses that immediately follow, may be accounted to be 'according to the doctrine of the Church of England.' Matthew Sutcliffe, an ecclesiastical lawyer much engaged in controversy against the Puritans, declared, according to *A Petition directed to Her Majesty*, p. 38, that books published *cum privilegio* contain nothing against the laws of the country.

(3) This is quoted from the edition of the writings of the three martyrs Tyndale, Barnes, and Fryth, edited by John Foxe, and already referred to. Foxe in a note in his Preface to the *Acts and Mon.* had promised to publish their works. On page 374 *a* Tyndale is speaking of Tunstall, Bishop of London, who burnt his English New Testament, 'calling it *Doctrinam peregrinam*, strange learning.' And strange Tyndale admits it to be: as strange as Christ's life compared with the life of the Pope, and the doctrine of the Book compared with the Pope's law, in which alone Tunstall was versed. Then comes the sentence—'Neither is it possible, naturally, that there should be any good bishop, so long as the bishoprics be nothing save worldly pomp and honour, superfluous abundance of all manner [of] riches, and liberty to do what a man listeth unpunished: things which only the evil desire, and all good men abhor.'—*Works* (as above), London, 1753 2 vols., 4to., black letter; Tyndale's *Works* (Parker Soc.), Cambridge, 1848, vol. 2, p. 337. The passage is again referred to in THE PROTESTATYON, *infra*, 406.

(4) The reference is evidently to the passage from the *Obedience of a Christian Man* (*Works*, ed. Foxe, 135 b) quoted in a note to § 45.

lord bishops are none of Christ's bishops, but ministers of antichrist.

61. That by the doctrine of the Church of England our bishops and their government are no part of Christ's kingdom, but are of the kingdom of this world.

62. That by the doctrine of the Church of England lord bishops are a part of that body whereof Antichrist is head.

63. That by the doctrine of the Church of England the places of archbishops and bishops are the seats of Antichrist.

64. That by the doctrine of the Church of England a bishop can have no other lawful authority but only to preach the word.

65. That by the doctrine of the Church of England the desire of a bishopric, or any other honour, in a minister is a note of a false prophet.

66. That according to the doctrine of the Church of England all our bishops and their chaplains are false prophets.

67. That the doctrine of the Church of England concerning the civil offices of our prelates is, that all civil rule and dominion is by the word God flatly forbidden unto the clergy.

B iii. | 68. That according to the doctrine of the Church of England the ministry and the magistracy cannot, by the ordinance of God, be both in one person.

69. That, by the doctrine of the Church of England, the joining together of the ministry in one person doth put every kingdom out of order.

70. That for a lord bishop to be of the Privy Council in a kingdom, according to the doctrine of the Church of England, is as profitable unto the Realm as the wolf is to the lambs.

71. That bishops ought to have no prisons wherein to punish transgressors (1).

(1) For instance, in the Bishop of London's palace on the north-west corner of St. Paul's there was the notorious 'coal-hole,' and we hear also of persons imprisoned at his house at Bishop's Stortford (*i.e.*, at Haddam, hard by). At Lambeth also there was the Lollards' Tower.

72. That according to the Church of England all ministers be of equal authority. (Mark this good Reader).

73. That, according to the doctrine of the Church of England, those doctors who are daily alleged by our bishops in the defence of their superiority over their brethren, to wit, Cyprian, Jerome, Augustine, Chrysostom, knew of no authority that one bishop should have above another, neither thought, or once dreamed, that ever any such thing should be.

74. That, according to the doctrine of the Church of England, a bishop and an elder or a minister note out [denote] in the word of God the one and the self same person and church officer; the contrary whereof is popery.

75. That by the doctrine of the Church of England it is Popery to translate the word *Presbyteros* into Priest, and so to call the ministers of the Gospel Priests.

76. That, according to the doctrine of the Church of England, Dr. Bancroft in his Sermon at Paul's [Cross] the 28th of January 1588 (1) maintained a Popish error, in avouching that in the days of Cyprian there was a difference between a bishop and a priest or minister. B iii. vers.

77. That according to the doctrine of the Church of England John Cant. is a maintainer of a Popish error, in terming the ministers of the Gospel by the name of priests.

78. That according to the doctrine of the Church of England our prelates have no authority to make ministers, or to proceed to any ecclesiastical censure.

79. That, by the doctrine of the Church of England, to have a bishop's licence to preach is the very mark of the Beast, Antichrist.

80. That, by the doctrine of the Church of England, the godly ministers ought to ordain those that would enter into

(1) This must not be confounded with the more celebrated sermon delivered in February of the same year (1588) and referred to in Thesis 108. I have not discovered that the sermon of Jan. 28th was separately printed; its substance was no doubt embodied in the enlarged form of the February sermon, and in *Dangerous Positions* and Bancroft's other writings.

that function without any leave of the prelates, and not so much as once to suffer them to take any approbation of the prelates.

81. That, according to the doctrine of the Church of England, there ought to be no other manner of ecclesiastical censure but that which is noted Matt. $8^{15, 17}$; which is to proceed from a private admonition to one or two witnesses, and thence to the Church, that is, not to one, but unto the governors of the church, together with the whole congregation.

82. That, according to the doctrine of our Church, the citations, processes, excommunications, &c. of the prelates are neither to be obeyed nor regarded.

83. That according unto the doctrine of the Church of
B iv. England men ought not to appear in | their courts, seeing their proceedings are so directly against the truth as now they are manifested to be, seeing the doctrine of the Church warranteth them no such calling.

84. That, according to the doctrine of the Church of England a man, being excommunicated by them, ought not to seek any absolution at their hands.

85. That, according unto the doctrine of the Church of England, every minister is bound to preach the Gospel notwithstanding the inhibition of the bishops.

86. That according unto the doctrine of the Church of England a man, being once made a minister, is not to be kept back from preaching by the inhibition of any creature.

87. That according unto the doctrine of our Church our prelates notably profane the censure[s] of the Church, by sending them out against those who are not offenders against God; for money matters, and other trifles, &c.

88. That, according unto the doctrine of the Church of England, it is great tyranny in them to summon and cite poor men, as they do, to come before them, for hearing the Word, or speaking against their hierarchy.

89. That it is tyranny by the doctrine of the Church of England, and the badge of Antichrist's disciples, for our

prelates to break up into men's consciences to compel them by oaths (1) to testify against themselves.

90. That, by the doctrine of the Church of England, our prelates learned this abomination of Pilate (2), Matt. 26^{93} (*sic*).

| 91. That, according unto the doctrine of the Church of England, none ought to be in the ministry but such as are able to preach. B iv. vers.

92. That, according unto the doctrine of the Church of England, non-residence (3) and pluralities of benefices are most intolerable in the sight of God and man.

93. That all true subjects have better warrant to deny the superiority of bishops than the bishops have to impose themselves upon the Church.

94. That her Majesty's true subjects in oppugning the state of lord bishops have the warrants of the word of God, the warrant of our laws and statutes, the doctrine of the Church of England, the consent of the Church of God for the space of above 400 years, and her Majesty's privilege.

95. That the bishops have nothing for their defence but the corruption received into our Church contrary unto the Word, contrary unto our statutes, contrary unto her Majesty's privilege, contrary unto the doctrine of our Church.

96. That our bishops in their controversy for their hierarchy have not me, poor man, for their only adversary, but our Saviour Christ, His Apostles, and holy martyrs, our laws and statutes, her Majesty's privileges; and the doctrine of our Church hath long ago condemned them for traitors unto God, unto His word, His Church, and unto our laws and privileges.

97. That Master Thomas Cartwright, together with all

(1) This is the tyrannical and unconstitutional *oath ex officio mero*, for which see the *Hist. Intro.* 80 (4).

(2) The reference should probably be Matt. 26^{63}, in which case the name of Caiaphas should be inserted for that of Pilate. The verse in the Gospel reads, 'But Jesus held His peace. And the high priest said unto Him, "I adjure Thee, by the living God, that Thou tell us whether Thou be the Christ, the Son of God."'

(3) *Al.* Non-residents.

those learned men, and myself also, that have written against the state of the clergy, could do no less than we have done, except we would betray the truth of God, the laws of the
C i. land, | and the doctrine of our Church.

98. That our magistrates, in maintaining both the doctrine of our Church and also the hierarchy of our bishops, maintain two contrary factions under their government, which their Wisdoms know to be dangerous.

99. That this faction is likely to continue until either of the parties give over.

100. That those who defend the doctrine of our Church in oppugning our bishops, neither can nor will give over (1) the cause, inasmuch as it is confirmed by the Word professed in our Church, allowed by our statutes, and maintained by her Majesty's privilege.

101. That the bishops will not give over, in any likelihood to die for it (2), as long as the State will maintain them.

102. That the continuance of these contrary factions is likely in a while to become very dangerous unto our State, as their Wisdoms, who are magistrates, well know and perceive.

103. That their Wisdoms then are bound, even for the quieting of our outward State, to put down either the doctrine of our Church, or the corruption, viz. our bishops, and their proceedings.

104. That they cannot, without the endangering of themselves, under the wrath of God and the odious and most monstrous sin of inevitable apostasy from the truth, put down and abolish the doctrine of our Church.

105. That they cannot any longer maintain the corruptions of our Church, namely, archbishops and bishops,
C i. vers. without the shameful contra | diction of our doctrine, and the discontentedness of their subjects.

(1) Cease. The expression 'give over' in this sense is now only heard as a local dialect form.

(2) They will not forsake their livings, 'giving over' their present policy, and imperilling their lives thereby.

106. That all ministers are bound by subscription, by virtue of the statute that requireth their subscription unto the doctrine of faith and sacraments in the Church of England, to disavow the hierarchy of bishops.

107. That it were well that all these ministers who are urged to subscribe would require a resolution (1) in this point, before they yield their subscription.

108. That Dr. Bancroft, in affirming her Majesty to be a petty pope, in his sermon preached at Paul's [Cross] the 9th of February, 1583 [1589], preached treason against her Majesty's royal crown and dignity (2). Page 68, line 19.

109. That the said Bancroft is a traitor, in affirming her Majesty to usurp that authority within her dominions, in causes ecclesiastical, which the pope usurped in times past.

110. That our bishops, in suffering the said sermon to be published in print, containing the former points of treason, are accessory unto Bancroft's treason.

That our prelates—

Here he left his writings imperfect (3), *and thus perfectly begins the son.* | C ii.

(1) That is, a solution or explanation.

(2) The reference in this and the two following theses to Bancroft's 'treason' needs a word of explanation. Martin has, in the manner of formal logic, set forth his familiar syllogism (THE EPISTLE, p. 23) :—

No petty popes ought to be maintained or tolerated in a Christian commonwealth.
But our Archbishops and Bishops are such petty popes.
Therefore, they ought not to be tolerated, &c.

To this Bancroft replies by stating that upon Martin's principles you could frame the following argument :—

No petty pope ought to be tolerated, &c.
But 'hir Majestie is a Pettie Pope.'
'Therefore hir Majestie is not to be tolerated, &c.'

Moreover, Bancroft says that the *minor*, or second member in the syllogism, may be proved thus :—

'Whosoever doe take upon them or usurpe the same authority in causes ecclesiastical within their dominions, which the Pope had, are Pettie Popes.
'Her Majestie doth so.
'Therefore hir M. is a Petty Pope and not to be tolerated, &c.'

(3) M. unperfite.

Martin Junior's Epilogue
To the worshipful his very good
neame (1), Master John
Canterbury

After my hearty commendations unto your Worship (good nuncle Canterbury), trusting that you, with the rest of the Cater-caps, are as near your overthrow as I, your poor nephew, am from wishing the prosperity of your anti-christian callings. The cause of my writing unto you at this instant is to let you understand, first, that I was somewhat merry at the making hereof (2); being indeed sorry, together with others of my brethren, that we cannot hear from our good father Master Martin Marprelate, that good and discoursing brother of yours; but especially grieved that we see not the utter subversion of that unhappy and pestilent government of lord bishops, at the helm whereof ye sit, like a Pilate, or a Caiaphas rather. Moreover, I do you to wit, that you shall receive by this bearer certain imperfect (3) writings of my father's, praying your Prelacy, if you can send me, or any of my brethren, any word of him, that you would return us an answer with speed. |

C ii, vers.

Martin Junior's Epilogue

Many flim-flam tales go abroad of him, but of certainty nothing can be heard, inasmuch as he keepeth himself secret from all his sons. Some think that he is even now employed in your business (4); and I think so too. My

(1) Uncle. See note to title-page of this Tract.
(2) At the making hereof = at the time of writing. See McKerrow's *Nashe;* note to the *Countercuffe* in vol. iv., p. 47.
(3) *M.* vnperfect.
(4) The next Tract, The Just Censure and Reproofe, commonly called *Martin Senior*, was printed on June 29th, 1589, that is, probably within a week of the issue of the present Tract from the press. The large and long-promised book, More Work for the Cooper, was being written at this time.

reason is, quoth Robert Some, because it was for your sakes and good that he first fell a-studying the Art of 'Pistle-making. Others give out that in the service of his country, and her Majesty's, he died, or was in great danger at the Groine (1). And those others (quoth mine nunca Bridges) have seen motives inducing them to be of this mind. Some there are also, who feare that you have him in your hands. Howsoever it be, somewhat is not well, that he is silent all this while. We his sons must needs be disquieted, seeing we can neither know where our father is, nor yet hear from him. If we could but hear by some 'Pistle, though it were but of twenty sheets of paper, that he is well, we would not then be so inquisitive of him (2). But now that he hath been so long time tongue-tied, these four or five months (3), we must needs inquire of the matter. Speake then, good nuncles, have you closely murdered the gentleman in some of your prisons? Have you strangled him? Have you given him an Italian fig? (4) Or, what have you done unto him? Have you choked him with a fat prebend or two? What? I trow, my father will swallow down no such pills. And he do, I can tell he will soon purge away all the conscience he hath, and prove a mad hind ere he die. But tell me, I pray you, what you mean to do unto him, if you have him in hold? Do you mean to have the keeping of him, lest he should not be otherwise

(1) The attack upon Corunna (the Groine) in 1587 by Drake was part of the process of 'singeing of the Spanish king's beard.' After the destruction of the Armada, in the spring of 1589, Drake and Norris again attacked the Atlantic ports of the Peninsula, plundering Corunna before returning. The allusion must be to the later expedition. See the fuller note in THE JUST CENSURE AND REPROOFE, p. 351.

(2) Twenty sheets, folded in quarto, would give 160 pages, a fairly substantial ''Pistle.'

(3) THE MINERALLS were issued from Hales's house at Coventry *circ.* Feb. 20th, and HAY ANY WORKE *circ.* March 20th from the same place, which agrees with the date indicated above, that is, four months (or five) from the writing of THE EPITOME.

(4) Alluding to the method, of which the Italians were the most consummate practitioners, of insinuating deadly poisons into figs. 'It is sometimes called a French fig. 'Whether it was by an Italian posset, or by French figs, or by the potage of their potinger [apothecary]—he was a French man—there departed from this life the Earl of Cassils.'—Knox's *Reform. in Scotland*, Guthrie's ed., p. 126.

C iii. well looked unto? Why, what need | [of] that? (1) I am sure he hath 500 sons in the land, of good credit and ability, with whom he might have other gates' welcome (2), than with any Cater-cap of them all. And I pray you, nuncles, never trouble yourselves with the keeping of him. I trust he shall do well, though he never come near any of you all. And I think in reason it were more meet his sons, than his brethren, should be charged with him, if it so came to pass that he were forced to lean unto others. This I know full well, that my father would be sorry from his heart to put you to any such cost as you intend to be at with him. A meaner house, and of less strength than the Tower, the Fleet, Newgate, or the Gate-house is, would serve him well enough. He is not of that ambitious vein, that many of his brethren the bishops are, in seeking for more costly houses than ever his father built for him. And therefore, good sweet neames, now, if you have him, let him be despatched out of your hands, with honesty and credit. My father is of a kingly nature, I perceive by him; he would do good unto you, but he would not be recompensed for it again. He will none of your courtesies unless it be for your own sakes, that you will give over your bishopdoms; that is the greatest benefit he accounts of from you. Other recompense he seeks none.

If you demand of me, where I found this, the truth is, it was taken up (together with certain other papers) besides a bush, where it had dropped from somebody passing by that way (3). I hope my father's worship will not be offended with me for publishing of it, being not so perfect as

C iii. vers. question | less he would have had it. He and you cannot but commend my good dealing, in setting it out; for I chose rather to leave the sentences imperfect (4) than to add any-

(1) M. 'tat.'
(2) Than the welcome of Newgate or Gatehouse.
(3) From Hogkins the printer's evidence we know that the first part of the 'copy' of the present Tract was found on the road by Penry and him about 'one birdbowe shot' from Job Throkmorton's house at Hascley. See *Hist. Intro.* 296, and below p. 380.
(4) M. unperfite.

thing more than I found legible. The arithmetical numbers in the end of his preamble shew that, when he had written so far, he had something more in his head than all men do conceive, which made him leave in the midst of a period (1). I myself do perceive some tautologies in the conclusions, as being the first draft; but I would not presume to mend them; that I refer to himself, if he be yet living. If dead, yet posterity (2) may have his after-birth to be altogether his own. And let them take this as his *cygneam cantionem*, viz. his farewell to book-making. But that I would be sorry of. For who can be able to prove the points which he hath set down here, concerning the doctrine of our Church, maintained by statute and her Majesty's privilege, so soundly, and so worthily, as he himself would perform it? A thirty or forty of the first Conclusions are already shewed in 'Hay any work for the Cooper,' and therefore they need no further proof than the reading over that worthy Treatise, whence they seem to have been collected. The rest I hope shall be shewed in 'More work for the Cooper' (3).

And, Vather, if you can prove these things out of the doctrine of our Church, then certainly you deserve to be chronicled for ever. Then John Canterbury, come down with thy popery, quoth (4) Master Martin Junior; for now art thou set out in thy colours (5) to be an adversary, not only of Christ and his Apostles, which all men might know, but even | also, an utter enemy unto the doctrine of the C iv.
Church of England sowed here by the holy martyrs and sealed with their blood, yea, allowed by statute, and published with her Majesty's royal privilege; which is a point that the most have not considered of. And who is he

(1) See at close of thesis, § 110, *ante*, p. 321. On the imperfections in the text, see *Hist. Intro.*, pp. 295 *et seq.*, and *ante*, p. 289.
(2) ℳ. posterities.
(3) The Tract, which was partly printed when the press was seized at Manchester, would have explained many things to us, as we also see in the statements of Martin in THE PROTESTATYON.
(4) ℳ. 'Ka Master &c.'
(5) See *Hist. Intro.* 296, *n.* (*d*).

now that dares persuade Martin to give over his course, unless the same also will shew himself an enemy to the doctrine of the Church of England? For Martin in his writings, is not so much an enemy unto the bishops as a defender of the doctrine of our Church. And therefore you Puritans, that mislike of him, take heed that you be not found amongst posterity (1) to be the betrayers of this doctrine (for your ease and quietness' sake), which you are bound to deliver unto your children, without corruption or mangling, though it cost you your lives a thousand times. For to tell you the truth, if you do but read over the writings of Mr. Tyndale, Mr. Fryth, Mr. Barnes, Mr. Hooper, Mr. Knox, Mr. Lambert (2), &c., which were the first planters of the Gospel amongst us, you shall find yourselves in faithfulness, courage and zeal, yea, even the best of you, far behind them; which I speak not but to your great shame, with a desire of your amendment. And therefore I tell you true, I think it a great blessing of God that hath raised up this Martin, whom you can hardly brook, to hold tackling (3) with the bishops, that you may have some time of breathing, or rather a time to gather

(1) M. posteritics.

(2) John Lambert, a native of Norwich, and a Fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge, who suffered at Smithfield in November, 1538, his real name being Nicholson, which he changed to Lambert when, to escape persecution, he crossed over to Antwerp. He was brought back to England by Sir Thomas More, who as a persecutor of the reformers lacked nothing of the characteristic vindictive cruelty of the Romish Church. Lambert after some time was released, but several years after was inveigled into a discussion on transubstantiation with Taylor, at that time incumbent of St. Peter's, Cornhill, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln. For this he was tried before ten bishops and the King. The verdict was a foregone conclusion, and a few days afterwards he was burnt at Smithfield. John Bale, afterwards Bishop of Ossory, published an address written by Lambert to the King at the time of his condemnation. On the last page Bale notes, 'Though Johan Lambert wrote sumwhat more, still the corrupt copy which reached his hands contained no more. He adds, 'In the yeare of our Lorde a. M. D. xxxviij was thys seruant of God brent in Smythfelde at London, by the only vvolence of the spirytuall mynysters of Antichrist, in october.' The title of the Tract is '*A treatyse made by Johan Lambert vnto kynge Henry the viij concernynge hys opynyon on the sacramet of the aultre as they call it, or supper of the lorde as the scripture nameth it. Anno do.* 1538.' Small 8vo of 32 leaves in Gothic letter. Brit. Mus. C. 25. a. 10. The catalogue adds '[Marburg 1545].'

(3) Same as our colloquial 'to tackle' a person.

courage and zeal, joined with knowledge, to set upon these enemies of the doctrine of our Church, even the doctrine of God, I mean, maintained in our Church. For that as hither | to ye have done (1)—you be so loth (for the dis- C iv. verso.
turbing of our State, forsooth, and the offending of her Majesty) not only to speak against, but even utterly to reject, this hierarchy of our bishops, even to have no more to do with it than with the seat of the Beast (2)—you shall declare unto our children, that God raised up a company of whitelivered soldiers, to teach the Gospel in sincerity under her Majesty; and take heed lest our forenamed fathers rise up in judgment against you. As for her Majesty, or the State, I think she hath little cause to thank you for your wisdom, in seeking the quietness of this commonwealth, by winking at the sin of the pompous ministry. And, methinks, you are bound unto her and her people, to make so much at the least known, as she maintaineth public in books, by her statutes and privileges, to be the doctrine of this our Church under her government. Therefore, look unto these things; for certainly, if ever the Lord shall make the proceedings of our wicked bishops known unto her Majesty, to be so contrary to [the] word of God, the profession of holy martyrs, and the doctrine of our Church maintained both by our statutes and privileges, as in these theses they are set down, assure yourself that she will then inquire whether she had not any faithful preachers in her kingdom, that would stand to the defence of the truth, until she saw further into it.

As for the Bishops, they may herein see, to their woe, what wicked caitiffs they are, in maintaining themselves and their thrice cursed popedom | against such clear light. D i.
But the beasts, I fear, were born to no other end than to be the Lord's scourge, to chastise His church, and then to be burnt in hell. And, out upon them, they are as unlike

(1) The phrase is elliptical. Its value is, 'Because of that which, so far, ye *have* done . . . ye shall declare unto our children, that God raised up, &c.'

(2) Rome.

Christ, His Apostles, His holy martyrs, which were the planters of our Church, as the wretches are like unto themselves. A man would have thought, if they had not been desperate in their wickedness, that by the warning which Martin gave them, they would have been restrained from their villainy in some sort. But, as though their very reason had been clean gone, the more they [are] threatened to have their proceedings displayed, the more wicked do they manifest themselves. As if they would declare unto the world that they will not be made known unto posterity, but upon the condition that they may be [known to be] the most wicked that ever were in the church of God. They will be so many Judases, so many Diotrepheses, so many Simon Maguses, as now they are wicked bishops of England; or else they think not themselves well dealt with. Wherefore, reverend Father (1), if you be as yet on your seat, and have escaped out of the danger of gunshot, begin again to play the man. Fear none of these beasts, these pursuivants, these *Mar-Martins* (2), these stage-players (3), these prelates, these popes, these devils, and all they can do. Quit you but as like a man as you have done in 'Hay any Worke,' and I doubt not but you will make these roguish priests lie in the kennel. The report abroad goeth, that you are drawn dry, and can say
D i. vers. no more. They are fools that so think, I say. | Let these *Conclusions* be judge, whereby, I tell you true, I hope you shall be able to empty every bishopric in England, if weight of truth can do it. There be that affirm the rimers and stage-players to have clean put you out of countenance, that you dare not again show your face. Alas! poor hagglers, their fathers are too young to outface the least of your sons. And I do think that, lay aside their tyranny, all the bishops of England are too weak to deal with a scarecrow that hath but the name of reverend

(1) *i.e.*, Martin Marprelate.
(2) See below, p. 329, *note* (3).
(3) See *Hist. Intro.*, 'Martin on the Stage,' p. 221.

Martin written upon it. And therefore, I persuade myself, that they theirselves are thoroughly so persuaded, quoth (1) my nuncka Bridges, that you contemn such kennel-rakers and scullions as, to their shame, in the time of your silence have sold themselves for pence apiece, to be derided of come who so will to see (2) a company of disguised asses.

Concerning Mar-Martin, if he be a Londoner, or a university man, ten to one but you shall see him, one of these odd days, carried out of the town for his honesty of life. Why, that rime of his sheweth that he had no other bringing up than in a brothel-house. And herein I would crave pardon of the Universities, and the famous city of London, if I should be thought to give out, that such a ribalder as this is were there maintained (3). To speak what I do think of the youth, I cannot be induced to think that he hath had his bringing up at any other trade than in carrying Long Meg of Westminster's hand-basket (4), and in attending upon some other of his aunts at her appointment while she lived. After her death, it may be he hath D ii.
been promoted unto the service of some laundress in a bishop's house, where, in hope to be preferred by his good lords, he hath undertaken to mar-rimes, in publishing bawdry and filthiness, for the defence of these honest bishops.

(1) *M.* ka. 'As my uncle Bridges would say.'

(2) Derided of any who should come to see, &c.

(3) *Mar-Martine* is a rhyming Tract of seven pages and title-page. The metre varies, and one section reads as if it were from the pen of a Scotchman. The whole composition is of the doggerel type and without merit. Like most of the productions of the [illegible] employed by the bishops, it offends good taste. It has been usual to ascribe it to Thomas Nash, upon what evidence I know not. It is difficult to believe that in [illegible] could write such rubbish as—

'Ile tel you plaine, the matter is fresh
They gin in sprite, but end in flesh.'

See *Hist. Intro.* 224. The B. M. copy is badly cropped. Press mark, '96. b. 15. (19).'

(4) Long Meg of Westminster was a notorious and disreputable person in the reign of Henry VIII. She was known for her sharp unbridled tongue, and more dishonourably as a go-between. Martin's reference suggests that she covered her nefarious transactions by carrying on the business of a laundress. In 1591 a play called after her was acted by Henslowe's company.—*Annals of the Stage*, by J. P. Collier, ed. 1875, vol. iii., p. 182.

The stage-players, poor, silly (1), hunger-starved wretches, they have not so much as an honest calling to live in the commonwealth. And they, poor varlets, are so base-minded, as at the pleasure of the veriest rogue in England, for one poor penny, they will be glad on open stage to play the ignominious fools for an hour or two together. And therefore, poor rogues, they are not so much to be blamed, if, being stage-players, that is, plaine rogues (save only for their liveries) they, in the action of dealing against Master Martin, have gotten them many thousand eye-witnesses of their witless and pitiful conceits. And indeed they are marvellous fit upholders of Lambeth Palace, and the crown of Canterbury. And, therefore, men should not think of all other things, that *they* should anyways make Master Martin, or his sons, to alter their course. And hereof, good Master Canterbury, assure yourself.

Well, to grow to a point with you, if you have any of your side, either in the Universities, or in your cathedral churches, or anywhere within the compass of all the bishopdoms you have, that dare write or dispute against any of these points set down by my father, here I do, by these my writings, cast you down the glove in my father's name, and the names of
D ii. vers. the rest | of his sons. If my father be gone, and none else of my brethren will uphold the controversy against you, I myself will do it. And take my challenge if you dare. By writing you may do it, and be sure to be answered. By disputations, if you will appoint the place, with promise that you will not deal *vi et armis*, you shall be taken also by me, if I think I may trust you. Otherwise the Puritans will, I doubt not, maintain the challenge against you.

But here, by the way, John Canterbury, take an odd advice of your poor nephew, and that is this. First, in regard of yourself, play not the tyrant as you do, in God's Church. If you go on forward in this course, the end will be a woful reckoning. Thou hast been raised up out of

(1) M. seelie. For stage plays and Martin, see above, p. 328, and *Hist. Intro.* 221, also JUST CENSURE, p. 352.

the dust, and even from the very dunghill, to be President of her Majesty's Council, being of thyself a man altogether unmeet for any such pre-eminence, as neither endued with any excellent natural wit, nor yet with any great portion of learning. The Lord hath passed by many thousands in this land, far meeter for the place than is poor John Whitgift. Well, then, what if thou, having received so great blessings at the Lord's hand (being of all others in no comparison anything near the fittest for it, or the likeliest to obtain it), shalt now show thyself ungrateful unto thy merciful Lord God, or become a cruel persecutor, and a tyrant in His Church, a cruel oppressor of His children, shall not all that thou hast received be turned unto a curse unto thee, even into thine own bosom? Yea, verily. For the Lord in one day vers. beg.] is able to bring more shame upon thee, and that in this life, than He hath heaped blessings upon thee now for the space of thirty years and upward. But when I do consider thy pre-eminence and promotion I do sensibly acknowledge it to be joined with a rare curse of God, even such a curse as very few (I will not say none) in God's Church do sustain. And that is thy wicked and antichristian prelacy. The consideration of which popedom of thine maketh me think that thy other place in the civil magistracy, being in itself a godly and a lawful calling, is so become infectious, that it will be thy bane, both in this life, and in the life to come. And I am almost fully persuaded that that archbishopric of thine, together with thy practices therein, show verily that the Lord hath no part nor portion in that miserable and desperate caitiff, wicked John Whitgift, the Pope of Lambeth. Leave therefore both thy popedom and thy ungodly proceedings, or look for a fearful end.

My second and last advice is this, in a word. Suffer no more of these haggling and profane pamphlets to be published against Martin, and in defence of thy hierarchy. Otherwise thou shalt but commend thy folly and ignorance unto the world to be notorious. Mar-Martin (1), Leonard

(1) See *ante*, p. 329, *note* (3).

Wright (1), Frégeville (2), Dick Bancroft (3), Tom Blan. o'

(1) Mentioned in THE JUST CENSURE AND REPROOFE, p. 370, as Sir Leonard Wright, suggesting he was a clergyman. He defended the cause of prelacy in *An Admonicion to Martin Marprelat and his Mates,* for which see the *Hist. Intro.* 236. We learn from the *Stationers' Registers* (Arber's *Transcripts,* vol. ii.) that the licence is dated 19th January, 1590. What controversial tracts he was supposed to have written before the date of the present Tract, I have not been able to discover. He is mentioned in THE PROTESTATYON, p. 416.

(2) M. 'Fregneuile.' This interesting reference is to '*The Reformed Politicke. That is, An Apologie for the Generall cause of Reformation written against the sclaunders of the Pope and the League. . . . Dedicated to the King* [of France] *by John Fregeville of Gaut. Imprinted at London* . . . 1589. 4to, vj. + 90 pp. [B. M. 114 k. 6.].' The dedication is dated 'From London this 12. of December, 1588.' There is, however, appended to the main treatise 'a discourse vpon the death of the Duke of Guise prosecuting the argument of the booke.' The Duke was assassinated by the King's order on Dec. 23rd (Henry himself was murdered by the friar Jacques Clement the first day of August following). We may therefore assume that this volume could not have been long published when Martin wrote the present Tract.

Frégeville was heartily enough in favour of the theology of the Reformation, just as Whitgift was, and openly claimed to be. But what was so admirable in the English plan and is so warmly commended to Henry III. is its care for the clergy. The Pope had been cashiered and discarded, the 'blasphemous superstition' called the Mass had been suppressed, the images with the moving eyes had been broken up and the mechanism exposed, and the article on 'Justification by Faith only' had been placed in the creed of the Church; and with all these vast and significant changes the bishops kept up the old pre-Reformation pomp and dignity and the chief part of the old episcopal authority. When Herman Folkersheimer called to see his old friend of the days of exile, John Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury, he is amazed by the magnificence of the Bishop's state. 'The butler forthwith makes his appearance, bearing a large golden goblet' of wine; and at dinner or supper he cannot describe 'the abundance or magnificence of the silver plate.'—*Zurich Letters,* 2nd Ser., p. 87. When Whitgift rode forth, his small army of gentlemen-at-arms and retainers made his movement a sort of royal progress. And never a cardinal or metropolitan of the old order possessed a more autocratical and irresponsible power than the Archbishop when he sat in his high commission. Well might Frégeville say, 'France is bound to Queene Elizabeth for shewing the way how to come to Reformation without endomaging the clergie.'—*Ref. Polit.,* p. 65. He also undertakes to defend the English plan as a natural development from 'the equalitie that rested among the Bishops in the primitive Church.' As that Church increased, Deacons, and later 'other Bishops and Priests, were created.' 'But the Apostles remained as soueraine Bishops. . . . Hereof do I inferre that in the state of a mighty and peaceable Church, as is the Church of England, or as the Church of France or such like might be, if God should call them to reformation, the state of the Clergie ought to be preserued: for equalitie would be hurtful to the state and in time breed confusion.'—*Ibid.,* p. 69. There is an allusion to Frégeville in THE JUST CENSURE, p. 370, and in THE PROTESTATYON, p. 416.

(3) Bancroft had already published his sermon at Paul's Cross and was actively pursuing his relentless campaign against the reforming party, and especially against its literary defenders, a course which led him by a sure way to the episcopal bench. In the *Reasons alleged by the*

Bedford (1), Kemp (2), Underhill (3), serve thee for no other use, but to work thy ruin and to bewray their own shame and miserable ignorance. Thus far of these matters.

And methinks you see, nuncle Canterbury, that though I be but young, yet I begin | pretty well to follow my father's D iii. vers. steps; for I promise you I am deceived, unless I have a pretty smattering gift in this 'Pistle-making, and I fear in a while I shall take a pride in it. I pray you, if you can, now I have showed you my mind, that you would be a means that my Vather or my brethren be not offended with me for

Archbishop of Canterbury for Doctor Bancroft's being promoted to the Bishoprick of London, reasons which shed so complete a light upon Whitgift's conception of the qualifications needed for one of the highest spiritual offices in the Church, the chief of them consisted in Bancroft's persistence and skill in detective work and rough pamphleteering on behalf of the bishops. 'He was by his diligent search the first detector of Martin Mar-Prelates Press and Books, where and by whom they were printed. He was an especial man that gave the instructions to her Majesties learned Council when Martins Agents were brought into the Star Chamber. . . . . .

'By his advice that course was taken which did principally stop Martin and his Fellows mouths, viz. to have them answered after their own vein in writing.' But Lilly and Nash, whom we take to be the writers especially hired by Bancroft, had not yet published their pamphlets. See *Hist. Intro.* 118, 219.

(1) That is Tobie Bland, 'chaplaine to the right Honourable John Lord Saint John, Baron of Bletsoe.' He apparently spoke in his 'turne' at what he terms 'our exercise at Bedford,' and had been criticised by a writer calling himself Momus. Bland in defence published *A Baite for Momus so called Vpon occasion of a sermon at Bedford iniuriously traduced by the factions,* 1589. Lambeth Lib. xxx. 4, 10. See THE JUST CENSURE AND REPROOFE, p. 572. Bland appears to have been Bishop Sandys' schoolmaster.—Strype, *Memorials,* III. i. 356.

(2) Sir Sidney Lee suggests that this may have been William Kemp who graduated at Trinity Hall, Cambridge, 1580, 1584, and was afterwards a schoolmaster at Plymouth. He was interested in religious controversy and wrote on the *Most Haynous treasons of Ballard and Babington.* Personally, I strongly incline to the belief that the reference is to Kemp the comedian, who succeeded to Tarleton's popularity. From a variety of allusions we know that Martin was represented—misrepresented, no doubt—on the stage, until Burghley and the authorities interfered. In *Pap with a Hatchet* there is a regret at the restriction: 'Would those Comedies might be allowed to be plaid that are pend, and then I am sure he would be decyphered and so perhaps discouraged.' —Sig. D. ij. vers. Nash dedicates his anti-Martinist pamphlet *An Almond for a Parrat* to 'Monsieur du Kempe, Iest-monger and Vice-gerent generall to the Ghost of Dicke Tarlton.'

(3) Dr. John Underhill, an extensive pluralist, who became Bishop of Oxford in December, 1589, and died in 1592 (May 12th). His name occurs from time to time in the reports of the ecclesiastical trials during this period. He is again mentioned in THE JUST CENSURE AND REPROOFE, p. 368, where in *note* (4) fuller particulars of his career are given.

my presuming this of my own head. I did all of a good meaning, to save my father's papers; and it would have pitied your heart to see how the poor papers were rain- and weather-beaten, even truly in such a sort as they could scant be read to be printed (1). There was never a dry thread in them. These sea-journeys are pitiful I perceive. One thing, methinks, my father should like in me, and that is, my modesty; for I have not presumed to publish mine in as large a print or volume as my father doth his. Nay I thinke it well, if I can dribble out a 'Pistle in octavo, now and then (2). Farewell, good nuncle, and pay this bearer for the carriage. July 22. 1589. With as great speed as I might.

Your Worship's nephew
MARTIN JUNIOR.

(1) See *Hist. Intro.* 296, and *ante*, p. 324.
(2) The earlier Tracts (except the broadside MINERALLS) were published in quarto.

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VI. THE JUST CENSURE AND REPROOFE

[*MARTIN SENIOR*]

Printed at the Priory, Wolston, the residence of
Roger Wigston, Esq., July 29th, 1589

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The Just Censure and Reproofe, as stated in the Note introducing Theses Martinianæ, was published on July 29, 1589, while the secret press was at the house of Roger Wigston. To publish the second of these Tracts a week after the first, if we take into consideration the difficulties under which our printers laboured, their small hand-press, and their limited stock of type, indicates that John Hodgkins felt the need of haste. He was indeed daily anticipating a visit from the Archbishop's pursuivants. Having completed his share of the work, Hodgkins at once packed up press and type, and the same day set out with his two assistants for Warrington. They eventually established their press at Manchester, and no sooner began their work than they were seized by the authorities. See the *Historical Introduction*, pp. 186, 187, 297 ff.

The Just Censure is very similar in form to Theses Martinianæ, and printed from the same type—a Roman letter, two sizes being used on the title-page. Sharpe warned Penry that the authorities would know of his connection with these Tracts since they were printed from the same type as his *Supplication*—published when the press was at John Hales' house at Coventry (Sharpe's evidence, Harl. MSS. (Baker's Trans.) 7042. 23; Arber's *Sketch*, 102). Penry made 'a careless answere and so they past yt over.' The type in question was part of that which was purchased from Waldegrave when he relinquished the post of printer to Marprelate. The present Tract is a small 8vo., sig. A–D in fours.

The assumption of the Tract is that a third writer has come upon the scene, calling himself Martin Senior; whose task it is to censure and reprove Martin Junior for his

rashness in printing their father's papers in their imperfect condition, as well as for exasperating thereby Archbishop Whitgift and the High Commission. The 'copy' appears to have reached Wolston on the day that Job Throkmorton appeared at the Priory.

The outstanding feature of The Just Censure is the speech which the writer puts into the mouth of Archbishop Whitgift, addressing his pursuivants on the immediate necessity, owing to the renewed activity of the Marprelate press, of taking up once more the search for Marprelate and his printers; men and press must be secured at all costs. It shows us, more vividly than any other document we possess, the situation created by the Marprelate writings: the popular excitement; the small result of the activities of the pursuivants; their vain and expensive expeditions; their arrival on the scene ever the day after Martin's printers had decamped, no one could tell whither; the reproach of the subtle and plausible and altogether unscrupulous Monday; the gatherings at the Puritan centres in London; the absorbing conversations at Paul's Cross before the preacher appeared, and at the churches of certain preachers favourable to reform; the hidden mystery under the Puritans' great cloaks; the gossip at the booksellers' in the Churchyard and at Blackfriars; the espionage of the taverns, for when the wine is in the wit is out; the examination of the carriers' consignments for printed matter coming into the city and paper and ink despatched into the country; the need of watching even Lord Mayor Martin's house, not to mention the houses of notorious nonconforming preachers; even the Court must be taken in hand, for the unclean thing circulates in the immediate vicinity of the throne, maugre the Queen's injunctions; and the search must extend its sweep far to the west, through the midlands, and even to the north parts. And above all this is the grim vexation of the Archbishop, having more power in his hands than ever was granted to any of his predecessors since Elizabeth came to the throne, yet none so helpless against the enemies of the established

order as was he against this elusive foe, this too serious jester.

The more serious elements in the Tract are contained in the points which, in Martin Junior's place, Martin Senior would have propounded against the Bishops (pp. 364 *et seq.*); the suggestions for a united supplication to the Queen (pp. 371 *et seq.*); and the brief discursion on the Queen's English (pp. 372–374). The two former are summarised in the Table of Contents. The latter is a vivacious account of how the bishops, with Evangelical convictions, read their private views into the ordination phrase, 'Receive the Holy Ghost,' and the vicarious answers of sponsors at baptism; also how they paraphrased the supplications of the Puritans into revolutionary threats against the throne.

The last pages, containing the prudent advice that it is better that Martin's sons should not know their father, are of great interest and significance.

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Wherein the rash and undiscreet headiness of the foolish youth is sharply met with, and the boy hath his lesson taught him, I warrant you, by his reverend and elder brother, Martin Senior, son and heir unto the renowned Martin Marprelate the Great.

Where also, lest the springal (1) should be utterly discouraged in his good meaning, you shall find that he is not bereaved of his due commendations. | [A i.]

(1) A youth. Sometimes written 'springald.

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The iuſt cenſure and reproofe of Martin Iunior.

Wherein the raſh and vndiſcreete headines of the foolish youth, is sharply mette with, and the boy hath his leſson taught him, I warrant you, by his reuerend and elder brother, Martin Senior, ſonne and heire vnto the renowmed Martin Mar- prelate. he Great.

Where alſo, leaſt the ſpringall ſhold be vtterly diſcouraged in his good meaning, you ſhall finde, that hee is not bereaued of his due commendations.

THE REPROOFE OF MARTIN JUNIOR, BY HIS ELDER BROTHER

Wo-ho then! And boys will now be a 'Pistle-making, either without their father's leave, or their elder brother's advice, we shall have our father's Art brought to pretty pass within a while. I could a' told, 'tis long ago, that my father would get him so many sons, as John Canterbury would have no cause to sit quiet at dinner or supper, for looking to his young nephews (1). I thought boys would be a-doing. But, foolish stripling, canst thou tell what thou hast done? I ween not. If my father should be hurt, either at the Groine (2), or at the suburbs of Lisbon, is this the way either to cure him, or to comfort him?—to publish his scrabbled and weather-beaten papers (3) in this sort! What if he had in purpose to write no more, seeing the danger and trouble that comes of it? Will this be any means to work the old man's quietness, for a foolish and a

(1) The Archbishop has been constituted nuncka, or uncle, to the scions of Martin Marprelate. See title-page to THESES MARTINIANÆ.

(2) Corunna. An expedition commanded by Drake and Norris left England on April 18 this year, and six days later burnt the shipping in the harbour of Corunna, and burnt and plundered the lower parts of the town. The upper section successfully resisted the attack. The third week in May, having re-embarked at Corunna, the force landed at Perniche and marched upon Lisbon. But Drake failing to coöperate with the land forces, the assault upon the city ended in disaster. A large number of our soldiers died either of their wounds or of disease. The news of this, on the whole, disastrous expedition had not long reached England when the present Tract was being written. Drake anchored in Plymouth towards the end of June. The entire force which set out with Drake and Norris was over 15,000 men. The remnant which found its way back to England numbered, it is said, no more than 6,000. To be hurt 'at the Groine or at the suburbs of Lisbon' must have been the fate of a great many Englishmen at this time. See the earlier reference in THESES, p. 323.

(3) See the account of finding the 'copy' of the first part of THESES MARTINIANÆ under a bush.—THESES, p. 324; also their 'rain- and weather-beaten condition' after lying out in the open all night.—*Ibid.*, p. 334.

heady springal to go set abroad his papers? Thou sawest well enough that Martin's doings were almost forgot and husht. And the (*a*) men of sin themselves, I mean the Canterbury Caiaphas and the rest of his antichristian beasts, who bear his abominable mark, were content, in a manner, to turn his purposes from a serious matter to a point of jesting; wherewith they would have only rhymers and stage-players (that is plain rogues, as thou hast well noted) to | deal. So that had not thy untimely folly bewrayed itself, it may be that the syllogisms, whereby our father hath cracked the crown of Canterbury, should have had no other answer, or he himself none other punishment, but this: 'I' faith let him go—Martin is a mad knave.' Whereas, now, upon this scrabbling and paltering of thine, mark whether John Canterbury will not send for all the knave pursuivants that belong(s) unto his popedom, and set them a-work with the confutation of Martin; using some such speech as this is in the direction of them, for the choice of their Arguments against him.

(*a*) Bear witness, Reader, that I give my Lords their right titles (1).

A ii.

An oration of John Canterbury to the pursuivants, when he directeth his warrants unto them, to post after Martin.

'Now, sirs, is not her Majesty's High Commission and myself also, being the chief thereof, and one of her Majesty's Privy Council, well set up with a company of messengers, as long as we have you to go of [upon] our business? What think you? Have you been careful of us and our places, to find us out the press and letters [*i.e.*, type] wherewith these seditious 'Martins' are printed? Or have you diligently sought me out Waldegrave, the printer; Newman, the cobbler; Sharpe, the bookbinder of Northampton; and that seditious Welshman, Penry, who, you shall see, will prove the author of all these libels? (2) I thank

(1) The original has a misprint, 'Beare wisnes,' one of the signs of the haste and difficulty under which the printer laboured. The earlier Tracts, considering the conditions of their production, are remarkably free from printers' errors.

(2) It is uncertain where Waldegrave was at this time. He relinquished his post as Marprelate's printer at the end of March, 1589, on the completion of the black-letter Tract HAY ANY WORKE. This resignation he urged when he met Penry and Throkmorton at Haseley, immediately on the termination of his work at Coventry. When Penry tried to induce Henry Sharpe, the bookbinder, to take his place (Sharpe had been regularly apprenticed to a member of the Stationers' Company and knew something of the art of printing) he mentioned

you Master Monday (1), you are a good gentleman of your word. Ah, thou Judas, thou that hast already betrayed the Papists, I

that he had heard that Waldegrave had 'gone to Rochelle.' And it is probable that between the time he left Hales's house at Coventry and his removal to Scotland, where he lived until the death of Elizabeth, he printed at Rochelle Penry's *Appellation* and [Throkmorton's] *M. Some in his Coulers*. If we follow Matt. Sutcliffe's account he brought his stock of these two pamphlets from France to Haseley Manor to consult Penry (who came over from Wolston, where a printing-press still remained) and Throkmorton as to their disposal, and perhaps to receive payment for his work. Penry at this time hovered between Northampton and Wolston Priory. When the present Tract was completed at the close of July, Hodgkins, the printer, and his assistants, hastened north to print MORE WORK FOR THE COOPER. They were seized at Manchester about the middle of August. Penry and Sharpe were both at Wolston when the news of the arrest arrived there. The Government brief, endorsed Sept. 21, 1589, implies that Humfrey Newman, 'a cobbler in London,' is still at large. At that date Sharpe had been apprehended. It is not quite easy to account for the apparent bravado of openly naming Penry, Waldegrave, Sharpe and Newman, all of them deeply implicated in the business of the secret press, except on the assumption, perhaps, that their names were at this time publicly known as being suspected by the Government; or, still further, that the open flouting of their names before the authorities was a suggestion that the writer had no need to shelter them; the last thing of which Martin would be suspected would be the betrayal of his accomplices. For a fuller narration of the events, see *Hist. Intro.*, 186 ff., and App. A.

(1) Anthony Monday (or Munday) is a somewhat notorious person of this period. He was the son of Christopher Monday, a London draper, and, as he calls himself a draper, must have inherited the freedom of the Drapers' Company. But he was regularly apprenticed in October, 1576, to John Aldee, stationer, 'for 8 yeres begynnynge at Bartholomewtyde last past.' He was destined to play many parts in his time. In 1578 he went to Rome, and claims to have been received into the English Seminary by the Roman Catholic authorities, of course upon his profession of their faith. The object of his vow, however, was to gain their secrets, and presently we find him regularly installed as a spy and, *inter alia*, a writer of tracts. His *Brief Discourse of the taking of Edmund Campion*—published on July 24, 1581 (Campion was arrested on July 17)—and his *Discoverie of Edmund Campion*, published on Jan. 22, 1582, Campion having been executed on Dec. 1 previous, were attacked from two sides. First by one George Elliot, who arrested Campion, and next by a Catholic priest who defended his memory. The priest has many things to say derogatory of Monday, and among them he includes the fact that he had been, and perhaps resumed later, the calling of a stage-player. However, true to his Judas character, he is also credited by Mr. J. Dover Wilson with being the author of *The Second and Third Blast* (1580), a work written against the stage. At the time before us he was one of Whitgift's most active pursuivants. We have already told how he traded on Wigginton's unsuspicious nature and then betrayed him before the Commission (see *Hist. Intro.*, 164). Wigginton concludes that Monday was 'one who seemeth to favour the Pope and to be a great dissembler.' See *Tudor Tracts*, by A. F. Pollard, p. 354; *Anthony Munday, Pamphleteer and Pursuivant*, by J. D. Wilson in the *Modern Language Review*, Vol. IV., July 1, 1909. Mr. Wilson enters with characteristic acuteness upon an interesting

think meanest to betray us also. Didst thou not assure me, without all doubt, that thou wouldest bring me in Penry, Newman, Waldegrave, press, letters, and all, before St. Andrew's day last? (1) And now thou seest we are as far to seek for them as ever we were. Nay, unless we have | them now, they are like to trouble (*a*) our Church more than ever they did. For here is a young Martin hatched out of some poisoned egg of that seditious libeller, Old Martin. Why truly it grieves me at the heart that I, by her Majesty's favour having more authority in mine hand to repress these Puritans than any bishop else hath had in England these thirty years, yet should be more troubled and molested by them these six years (2), than all my predecessors have been these six and twenty years. And all this cometh by reason of your unfaithfulness and negligence, whom we send for them. Well, I give you warning, look better unto your offices; or else let me be damned (*b*) body and soul, if I turn you not all out of your places. Therefore look to it: for now every one of you shall have warrants both for himself, and as many as you will substitute (4) under you besides. Bring us whomsoever you suspect, your warrants shall serve you to do it. And if you can find us either young or old Martin, Penry, or Waldegrave, so that you bring the press and letters, he shall have the forty pounds for his labour, whosoever will bring them; his charges and all borne clear. But if you bring us neither Martin, the press, nor those aforenamed, never look us in the face more. And methinks, for your own good you should be careful to get in these seditious men; for if we that are Lords of the Clergy go down once, then shall you be sure to fail; for, poor men, you have nothing but what you get in (*c*) our service, that are your Lords and Masters. And methinks, if these wayward men had any conscience in them, they would not seek our | overthrow with tooth and nail, as they do; seeing so many honest poor men, yea, and many a good gentlemen too, by my troth, live only by us and our places.

A ii. vers.

(*a*) But not the Church of Christ, good uncle; you do not so greatly care though they did.

(*b*) Never condition for the matter, man, for except thou repent, thou art sure of that already (3).

(*c*) And you have nothing neither yourselves, but what you get in the service of your Lord and Master, the devil.

'Well, if ever you mean to do any good in this matter, take

A iii.

speculation, that Monday was the author of the anti-Martinist pamphlet *An Almond for a Parrat*.

(1) Nov. 30. Alluding to the raid upon Waldegrave's house a few days prior to that date, when they seized his goods, but found only the wife and children at home. See HAY ANY WORKE, p. 274.

(2) That is, since he became Archbishop in 1583.

(3) 'Do not speak of it as an eventuality *under certain conditions;* for except, &c.,' it is already certain.

(4) *Substitute* has here its original sense of to place under, invest with delegated authority. The *Cent. Dict.* quotes from Shakespeare:—

'But who is substituted 'gainst the French
I have no certain notice.'

2 *Hen. IV.*, i., 3.

me this course, which we here in Commission have thought meetest; let a six or seven of you, or your substitutes that stay here in London, watch me Paul's Churchyard, especially have an eye to Boyle's shop at The Rose. And let some one or two of you that are unknown go in thither, and if there be any strangers in the shop, fall in(to) talk with them of Martin, commend him, and especially his son's last libel (and here, he that will take that course, take me this, that if need be you may show it) (1) showing, that by great friendship you got one of them; saying also, that you understood a man might there help his friend to some, if he were acquainted with Master Boyle (2), and offer largely for it. Now, sir, if any shall either enter with you into (3) any speeches against the State, and in defence of these libels; or else, if any can procure you the sight of the books, be sure to bring them before us. Though you learn not their names, yet your warrants shall serve your turns, inasmuch as you do suspect them. And thus I would have some of you bestowed.

'Let three or four more of you or your substitutes be every day at the Blackfriars, Lincoln's Inn, Whitechapel, Paul's Chain, as often as Clarke (4), Gardiner (5), Egerton (6), or

(1) Handing the pursuivant a copy of the last Tract, THESES MARTINIANÆ (or 'MARTIN JUNIOR').

(2) Richard Boyle was a bookseller in Blackfriars. Publications bearing his name *circa* 1588 and 1603, and later, are given in Hazlitt's *Handbook*.

(3) *fil.* unto.

(4) William Clarke, a fellow of Peterhouse. He preached at St. Mary's a sermon in which he derived the episcopal system from Satan. Whitgift and Perne, and one or two others, tried his case, and because he refused to make a public retractation, expelled him from the fellowship and the university in 1572. He appealed, through Burghley, to be restored, regretting the vehemency of his language, and admitting there might be a 'superiority among ministers' in matters of administration; but with the usual unfavourable result. He gained some reputation by his controversy (1580) with Campion, the Jesuit. Parsons accuses him of worrying Campion at his prison conference, he being 'faint from torture and confinement'; also of 'following Campion to his martyrdom with harsh and pitiless reviling.' He was 'constant preacher' to the Society of Lincoln's Inn from 1581 till 1593, when, despite his avoidance of positive opposition to the bishops, he was suspended by Whitgift because he did not preach in favour of them.—See *D. N. B.*, and especially Brook's *Lives*, II., 113.

(5) This I assume to be Richard Gardiner, a Cambridge man of considerable repute, says Brook (*Lives*, III., 512), and noted in the year 1587 to have often met with Nonconformists in their assemblies in London and elsewhere. There is also a John Gardiner, sometime minister of Malden in Essex, who made a pitiful appeal to Aylmer from Newgate on Sept. 7, 1586. He was a member of the Wandsworth Presbytery and signed the Book of Discipline.—Brook, *Lives*, III., 512; I., 316.

(6) Stephen Egerton, of St. Peter's, Cambridge, a member also of Oxford University by incorporation, and of considerable reputation; a

Cooper (1) do preach. (And truly, my Lord of London, I marvel (*a*) you suffer these men all this while to trouble the State by their preachings. By the mass I had not thought | they should have stood half this time). And there see if you can draw by speech anything from any Martinist, and let us talk with them. Especially, mark if you see any before the sermon begins setting their heads together, and whispering under their cloaks. If you do, be sure they are reading Martin, and have them forthwith to the prison until we send for them, or cause them to put in sufficient sureties to appear the next court day.

(*a*) Surely, nuncle, I dare swear for him he is not in the fault: for they stand against his will.

A iij. vers.

'You that stay here in London must also be sure, if possibly you can, to have a watch at all common inns, to see what carriage of paper and other stuff either goes from, or comes to London. Thereby you may haply learn something. And mark if any Puritan receiveth anything. Open his pack, that you may be sure he hath no Martins sent him. We will direct our warrants so that you may search all packs (*b*) at your discretion. We will take

(*b*) I hope the pursuivants in time shall be able to make a good living, in taking toll of these packs which they do not open.

strong Puritan of the Cartwright type, and an active member of the Wandsworth Presbytery. He was apparently an occasional preacher at the time of Martin's writing at [St. Ann's] Blackfriars, where there was a famous afternoon lecture, much frequented by Puritans (see Throkmorton's *Defence*, A ij. vers.), to which church he was in 1598 appointed minister. In 1584 he was for a short time under censure for not signing Whitgift's Articles. Brook identifies him with the Egerton who was appointed in 1590 to confer with Barrowe and Greenwood, then lying in the Fleet. But the letters which passed between the visitor and the prisoners are distinctly signed 'I.' or 'J. Egerton', while the Blackfriars preacher appears without doubt to have been Stephen Egerton.

(1) A London minister of this name took part in the Conferences held with Barrowe and Greenwood. Certain ministers were appointed by the bishops because of their supposed sympathy with Church reform and because their sympathy did not prevent them from conformity to the law, to confer with the 'two prisoners in the Fleete.' One of them was 'Master Cooper,' whose Nonconformity had previously been of a more resolute type, seeing that he had obtained a licence to preach in his parish 'by Powles' through the help of Mrs. Lawson, the redoubtable shrew of Paul's Churchyard. Martin speaks of Paul's Chain as one of the preaching places where the Puritans resorted, and it would seem safe to associate Cooper with Paul's Chain. The Chain was a barrier on the south side of the cathedral, and designed to preserve the quietness and privacy of the close during times of service. The parish is conjectured to be 'St. Gregory's by St. Paul's.' The church in this parish was appropriated to the petty canons of St. Paul's for their better support. Curiously enough, on April 29, 1590—the Conference at the Fleet was held on April 3—Martin Cooper and Robert Cooper were appointed fourth and fifth minor canons respectively, and it is natural to surmise that one of these was Master Cooper, the minister of the 'parish by Powles,' and none other than the Puritan whose deliverances at Paul's Chain needed to be watched; but who, having later submitted to Whitgift, was already walking in the primrose way of preferment.

order also that the Court may be watched, who dispense or read these Libels there; and in faith I think they do my lord of Essex (1) great wrong, that say he favours Martin. I do not think he will be so unwise as to favour these who are enemies unto the State. For if he do, her Majesty, I can tell him, will withdraw her gracious favour from him; but take you no care for the Court. Watch you London, and learn me where Newman and Waldegrave's haunt is; and there be sure to watch early and late. Have an eye also unto all the Puritans' houses in London; especially my Lord Mayor's, Alderman Martin's (2), and the preachers' houses. Let none that you suspect be uncited.

'As for you that go into the country, I would have ye especially go into Northampton and War | wick shires, and command the A iv.
Mayor and Constables of Northampton to keep watch and ward for Sharpe and Penry, and if they can take them, let them bring them up, and we will be sure to content them for their pains. Others must go into Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk. And if you can bring us no Martinists from thence (at the least, by that means your charges may be borne) (3) I would ye might starve for me. There is Moore (4), there is Allen (5), there is

(1) Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, a young man of twenty-two, was Elizabeth's latest favourite. It was he who, when Elizabeth spoke severely against Marprelate, whose writings had just been officially prohibited, pulled a copy from beneath his cloak saying, 'What will become of me?' He was generally opposed to the influence of the bishops at Court, and inclined to befriend the persecuted Puritans as part of his policy.

(2) Sir Richard Martin was elected Lord Mayor on May 3, 1589, on the death of Sir Martin Calthrop during his year of office.

(3) Text corrected by removing the bracket from the end of the sentence to this position. The words within the brackets refer to the payment of the pursuivants by the persons they apprehended.

(4) John More (or Moore), a fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, minister of St. Andrew's Church, Norwich. He died in Norwich in the year 1592. He was a popular preacher, and early came into collision with the authorities by his refusal to wear the surplice, though his grounds appear to have been chiefly that the old Romish garment gave offence to others. He created some interest by replying to a sermon preached at the cathedral by Dr. Andrew Perne, Martin's 'old Turner.' Later, in 1576, More was suspended from his ministerial office, along with nineteen or twenty other ministers of the city of Norwich, because the prelates were urging precise ceremonial conformity with great rigour. In the year 1584 More was one of a body of sixty ministers who were unable to subscribe to Whitgift's Three Articles—and this when the need of ministers was so great that large numbers of uneducated persons had to be ordained, whose only qualification was that they could read the service.

(5) We find a trace of Allen as a Suffolk minister in a copy of the 'Orders made at a Synod of Puritans, September 8, 1587' (preserved by Strype, *Annals*, III., ii., 177). For the furtherance of the 'discipline' and regulating the mutual intercourse of ministers and churches.

Knewstubs (1), there is Wright (2), with many others, all very seditious men; that is pity, by my troth, that so many worshipful

The most interesting item in the Orders to a modern student of the period is that in which the Puritans repel the accusation of schism; first, because they attend their respective churches and unite in the ministry of the Word and Sacraments, and, also, because they *assume no authority to compel others to acknowledge their decrees*. The subscribers for the county of Suffolk are Knewstub[s] and Allen. It is not clear that Allen had a benefice in the county. He may have been the same as the London minister who refused the vestments in 1564 and went to reside in the country to gain his living by husbandry.—Strype's *Grindal*, 145, 146. Martin spells the name 'Aline.'

(1) John Knewstub[s]—Martin omits the final *s*—mentioned in the last note; a fellow of St. John's, Cambridge, and a learned writer, says Fuller. He was obnoxious to the hierarchy because of his decided Nonconformist sympathies. On leaving Cambridge he became the minister of Cockfield in West Suffolk. He and sixty other ministers in the county found themselves unable to subscribe to Whitgift's notorious Three Articles. Their difficulties were the usual ones with conscientious men of evangelical convictions—the use of the cross in baptism; interrogatories proposed to infants; the declaration in the burial service that the deceased person, irrespective of his character, was committed to the earth, in sure and certain hope of eternal life; the reading of apocryphal books in public worship. Asked by Lord Burghley if he and his neighbour John Oxenbridge would use the Book of Common Prayer and promise not to preach against it, they at once replied that this had been their practice; for, for peace' sake, they had forborne to speak against those who were able to use the book more strictly than they were able to do. Knewstubs had the distinction of having his house narrowly watched and afterwards thoroughly searched by the bishops' officers. He took part in the Hampton Court Conference, and, making some inconvenient inquiries at one of the discussions on the limitations of the rulers of the Church to impose ritual upon officiating ministers, he was interrupted by the King. The British Solomon said 'it smelt rankly of Anabaptism.' Knewstubs wrote a book against the views of Henry Nicklaes, the founder of the Family of Love. He died at Cockfield at an advanced age. See Brook's *Lives*, II., 308; Strype's *Index*.

(2) Robert Wright had been both private and university tutor to the Earl of Essex. After many years' residence at Cambridge he became private chaplain to Lord Rich, a great favourer of the reforming party. Aylmer peremptorily refused to give him a licence, so that his ministrations were confined to his patron's private chapel. On Lord Rich's death an indiscreet remark about making the Queen an idol soon brought Wright into Aylmer's clutches. He was first imprisoned at Rochford in Essex. There his tractable and courteous behaviour won him the favour of his keeper, who, 'with the private allowance of the Secretary of State,' permitted him *en parole* to visit his wife, who was approaching her confinement and in great distress. He was, however, observed by a civilian, who reported the fact to the Bishop. It was only by instantly hastening back to prison, and by making the most humble and tearful entreaty to Aylmer, that Wright succeeded in diverting the Bishop's vengeance from the keeper. He was now removed to the Gatehouse, and was imprisoned there apparently several years. Examined before the Bishop, Wright contended that a private chaplain needed no licence, but that the Bishop was mistaken in calling him simply a layman, since he had preached for seven years at the University with a licence, and had also been regularly ordained by the laying on

and good nurtured knights and gentlemen are carried away with them and their waywardness, as in those parts are seduced. But I hope her Majesty will have an uniformity. To be brief, I have said enough unto you already; but my meaning is, that you should go all the ground that her Majesty hath, or find out Martin. Go me to Devonshire, and to the North parts, where my lord's grace of York also will direct his warrants by you, to seek this traitor Martin. For I will have him, or else I will no longer be Archbishop of Canterbury. He die at the Groine, as they say? Nay, he'll be hanged ere he'll die there. He is in some corner of England, lurking and doing mischief. I tell you true, I (*a*) do think him and his brood to be worse than the Jesuits. These Martinists are all of (*b*) them traitors and enemies unto her Majesty; they will overthrow the State; they are most rebellious and disobedient unto all good proceedings. No warning will serve them; they grow worse and worse. I persuaded myself, that none ever durst attempt to write besides this desperate wretch Martin him | self; if he still enjoy liberty, his brood will become as desperate as himself; his impunity will make them presume to speak against the State. And, therefore, either get him, or we shall never stay their course. And I think I shall go stark (*c*) mad with you, unless you bring him. Therefore, my masters, as you have any care for the pacifying of the State, and your own preferment, some way or other, compass me to find the first Martin himself, wheresoever he be. Spare no charges. Get him, and see what we'll do for you. For, if we were not in hope to come by him through your means, we would cast about another way to suppress his libelling. For we would make friends to

(*a*) I'll believe you o' your word.

(*b*) Saving your reverence, uncle Cantur—you lie in your throat! A iv. vers.

(*c*) Amen, good John, if thou lost not belong to the Lord, quoth Master Martin Senior.

of the hands of the Presbytery at Antwerp. He acknowledged saying that ministers should be elected by their flocks, as he had been at Rochford. Also that every minister was a bishop, though not a *lord* bishop, and neatly turned the tables upon Aylmer by saying that such must also be his lordship's opinion, for when he rebuked Wright for striking one of his parishioners he quoted against him the text 'A bishop must be no striker.' There was a peculiar piquancy in all this, seeing that Aylmer had a very unclerical notoriety for his efficiency in the use of his fists: he was complimented in some quarters that, being such a little man, he was able to thrash Squire, his worthless son-in-law, soundly, giving him, as Martin records, 'a bloody nose.' But there was a deeper cause of antipathy between Aylmer and Lord Rich. When the latter, accompanied by his uncle and another, called upon the Bishop to get a licence for the chaplain, which was utterly refused unless the licensee would subscribe, the uncle, so the Bishop complained, 'did hereupon so shake him up, that he said he was never so abused at any man's hands since he was born.' Aylmer declared that for two years had he been trying to get at the chaplain, and confessed (this to Burghley) that he knew not how to come by him, unless *they should pull him out by the ears*.—Brook's *Lives*, I., 239; Strype's *Aylmer*, 54, 55.

have him proclaimed traitor, and have it fellony, if we could, for any man to read his writings. And here an end with you.'

Lo, Sir Boy, have you not spun a fair thread, for our father's ease and quietness, and for the quietness of your brethren! If our uncle Canterbury should take this course, where shall the old man stay then? You see, England will be made too hot for him, if he be living. Why, thou simple and unexperienced lad, thou; my father—my father, I tell thee—had been better, it may be, that thou hadst never (I tell thee truth) learned a word of Irish in thy life, than to have in this heat of the year published his unperfect questions. Dost thou not see, thy uncle Canterbury abroad in his visitation? Dost thou not see with how many men Esau rides, that, if he meet with his poor brother Jacob, he may be sure to suck his blood? Is seven score horse nothing, thinkest thou, to be in the train of a English priest,
B i. whereof, also, | there are thirty gold chains? (1) Dost thou think that the kingdom of Christ which thy father seeketh to build shall be able to stand, seeing John Canterbury with so many many men rideth about the country, to proclaim nothing else but fire and sword unto as many as profess themselves to be the true subjects thereof? Why, thou seest he goes a-visiting purposely for no other end but to make it known, what an enmity and hatred he beareth to the Gospel and kingdom of Christ Jesus, and to show how careful he is, that that 'heresy of preaching' may not

(1) Martin understates the regal display of the 'second person in the land.' Whitgift's faithful admirer and biographer, Sir George Paule, says with pride: 'At his first journey into Kent, he rode to Dover, being attended with an hundred of his own servants, at least, in livery, whereof there were forty gentlemen in chains of gold. The train of clergy and gentlemen in the country and their followers was above five hundred horse. At his entrance into the town there happily landed an intelligencer from Rome, of good parts and account, who wondered to see an Archbishop, or clergyman, in England, so reverenced and attended. But seeing him upon Christmas-day after in the cathedral church of Canterbury, attended by his gentlemen and servants (as is aforesaid), also by the Dean, Prebendaries, and Preachers in their surplices and scarlet-hoods, and heard the solemn music with the voices and organs, cornets and sackbuts, he was overtaken with admiration.' —*Life of Whitgift* by Paule (Wordsworth's *Lives*, IV., 388).

prevail (1). Dost thou then persuade thyself, silly (2) stripling, that there is any good to be done in sending a 'Pistle unto him, seeing he hath so many men in his train who will swear for him, that he loves none of these hot preachers? Methinks, my father himself should be afraid of him, being so well horsed as he is. And therefore folly, for one of his young sons to think his strength sufficient to bear the encounter.

It may be thou wilt say that thy father is every day in the week able to make as many men of his own charges; I would he were else [otherwise]. [But] if he be, it is more than I know, I promise thee; and, I think, more than thou canst prove. But howsoever it goes, thou seest what a credit it is for an English Priest to have so many men following of him, as in the day of Judgment there may be enough of those that wear his livery to witness against him, that in this life he was a monstrous antichristian pope, and a most bloody oppressor of God's saints. Be it my father were dead, as you seem to give out; and for mine own part I will not gainsay | you, because I for my part may truly B 1. vers. say that his eldest child never knew him, and therefore is ignorant whether he be living or dead (3). Yet, brother Martin, I do see in the publishing of these things by you, two great slips committed; the one of inconsideracy, the other of undutifulness. Your rashness and want of wisdom, other men, I see, are like to feel; your undutifulness is only towards myself, which I cannot well put up, and because of thy rashness.

Mark whether those poor men before named, to wit, Penry, Sharpe, Waldegrave, Newman, &c., with many other good men, who, I dare swear for them, did never meddle nor make at any time with the metropolitical writings of our renowned father (4), shall not be now as hotly pursued after,

(1) See THE EPISTLE, p. 66, *note* (1), and further references there given.

(2) ſil. seelie.

(3) This disavowal of personal knowledge of Marprelate is an important consideration in the inquiry into the identity of that person.

(4) Martin Senior, by this phrase, appears to distinguish between the

as ever they were. And all this comes of thy foolish and paltry meddling in matters too high for thy capacity. And thus other men are like to smart by thy folly.

As for myself, to omit the honourable mention that my father (my father, I say, *Quem honoris causa nomino quoties nomino, nomino autem sæpissime*) made of me in his writings, whereas he did not once vouchsafe to speak a word of such a dilling (1) as thou art, I should have thought that the very name of an elder brother should have taught thee, that there had been one in the world, to whom by right of inheritance, the 'Pistling of bishops had belonged, after the decease of reverend Martin himself. Why, who should set out my father's writings, but I, Martin Senior, his son? At the least, who should publish them without my leave?
B ij. So that herein thy undutifulness is no less than thy | heady and rash inconsideracy.

To return again unto our reverend father. Of all other things I would wish thee not to come within his reach, if he be living; for an thou dost, I can tell thee he'll give thee such a lesson for thy sauciness, as I think thou shalt never be lord bishop while thou livest. For it maybe, that the expectation which men have conceived of the proof of such points as thou hast laid down, will force him to alter his purpose in MORE WORK FOR THE COOPER, and fall a-proving of these things, lest men should hold themselves deluded by thee. And will this be no pain think you, Sir Boy? Will it be no labour for a man, having finished a book, to alter his course, and make it wholly new? And this thou knowest he must do, unless his wisdom hath beforehand prevented [anticipated] the inconvenience. I deny not, indeed, but [that] it is easier for him to alter his course than for any one writer that I know of, because he hath chosen such a

My father, I tell you, saving his Worship, stands upon the credit of his children.

Primary Tracts, that is, THE EPISTLE, THE EPITOME, and HAY ANY WORKE, and the Secondary Tracts, the THESES and the present work.

(1) *Dilling* is supposed to be a variant of darling. It is applied to the last-born and puniest in a litter; also, and especially, to a child born in the old-age of its parents. The name 'Martin Senior' occurs in THE EPISTLE, *ante*, p. 83.

method as no man else besides hath done. Nay, his syllogisms, axioms, method, and all are of his own making; he will borrow none of these common school rules, no not so much as the common grammar, as it appeareth by that excellent point of poetry, written in Latin by him against Doctor Winken de Word (1). There thou shalt see such grammar, such art, such wit and conveyance of matter, as for the variety of the learning, and the pleasantness of the style, the like is not elsewhere to be found. Dr. Prime.

But lest I should utterly discourage thee, poor knave, I will, before I touch the rest of thine oversights, attribute unto thee thy deserved commendations. I confess, then, that thou canst do prettily well; thou canst enter reasonably into the sinews of thine uncle Canterbury's popedom, and make a tolerable anatomy thereof. I must needs also say for thee, Jack (2), that thou fearest none of these popes. And, I promise thee, I think thou hast a pretty mother-wit of thine own; but, poor boy, thou wantest wisdom, withal, to govern thy wit. Thou wantest that which thine uncka Bridges hath not, that is, wisdom to direct thee in the carriage of those pretty crotchets that thou hast in thy head. And the poor old Drone o' Sarum lacks that altogether, wherewith thou art prettily furnished, viz. a natural wit. Neither do I deny, boy, but that thou art Tom Tell-troth, even like thy father, and that thou canst not abide to speak unto thine uncle Cantur. by circumlocutions and paraphrases; but simply and plainly thou breakest thy mind unto him, and tellest him unto his face, without all these frivolous circumstances of, 'What is your name?' and, 'Who gave you that name?' of, 'An't please your worship,' &c. Thou tellest him plainly to his face, I say, that he is a very antichristian beast, and an intolerable oppressor of God's B ij. vers.

(1) *Al.* Wingken de Werd. See HAY ANY WORKE, pp. 267, *note* (1), 282. We have no knowledge of the Latin poetry written against Prime by Marprelate.

(2) The familiar title is significant if Martin Junior be indeed John Penry. It would also be in keeping with the puzzling frankness with which the names of certain of the confederates are mentioned in these later Tracts.

Church. And, methought, when I read that point in thy Epilogue, then, thought I, it will prove a vengeable (1) boy in time. For, methinks, that already *patrizat sat bene certe*. And trust me, Jack, I commend thee for thy plainness. And do so still, boy, for truth never shames the Master, I warrant thee, and take it o' my word. For indeed, thine uncle Cantur. is no less than a most vile and cursed tyrant in the Church. And a plain antichrist he is, even by the
B iij. doctrine of the Church | of England; and so, by the doctrine of our Church, are the rest of our cursed bishops; in the proof of which point, by and bye I will a little insist. And because many take snuff (2), that my father should account them, yea, and prove them, petty antichrists, I will manifestly prove them to be so, even by the doctrine of the Church of England, maintained by statute and her Majesty's royal privilege. For my father now hath taught us such a way to reason against these Caiaphases, in the *THESES* set down by thee, as will anger all the veins in John Canterbury's heart. And that is, to show that they are enemies unto the doctrine of our Church. Unto the point I will come anon. But first, brother Martin, I will school you in a point or two for your learning, in these things wherein I find your Epilogue to be unperfect. First, then, I trow, I would have had some other manner of accusations against our Puritans for their slackness than [those] wherewith you have charged them, as presently I will declare. Secondly, I would have propounded some things of mine own against our bishops, or else it should have cost me a fall. And that should have been after this, or the like, sort:

I, Martin Senior, Gentleman, son and heir to the reverend and worthy Metropolitan Martin Marprelate the Great, do protest, affirm, say, propound, and object against John Canterbury and his brethren, in manner and form following (3);

(1) One able to retaliate; revengeful. 'This cruel and vengeable generation.'—*Supplication of Beggars.*

(2) 'Take snuff' is to take offence. The *Cent. Dict.* quotes from Roger L'Estrange: 'Jupiter took snuff at the contempt and punished him.'

(3) Martin, in framing his propositions, has in mind the twenty-four

First, I protest and affirm that the foresaid John Whitgift, *alias* Canterbury, which nameth | himself Archbishop of Canterbury, B iij. vers. is no minister at all in the Church of God, but hath and doth wrongfully usurp and invade the name and seat of the ministry, unto the great detriment of the Church of God, the utter spoil of the souls of men, and the likely ruin of this Commonwealth; together with the dishonour of her Majesty and the State. And in this case do I affirm all the lord bishops in England to be.

2. Item: I do protest that the entering in of this cursed man John Whitgift, and of all others our bishops in England, is not an entering into the Church of God by the door, Christ Jesus. Wherefore I affirm all of them to be thieves, robbers, wolves, and worriers of the flock, and, therefore, no true shepherds (1).

3. Item: I do proclaim the said John Canterbury, with the rest of our prelates, to be common simoniacs (2), such as make merchandise of church livings and benefices, by faculties, dispensations, &c., and make as common a gain of Church censures, by absolutions and commutations of penance &c., as any men in the land do of their lawful trades and occupations.

4. Item: I do propound and affirm that the said John Canterbury and his brethren do hinder and let (3) with all their might the true knowledge of God amongst her Majesty's loving subjects, the inhabitants of this Kingdom, and thereby, besides their own fore-provided damnation, are guilty of the blood of infinite thousands.

5. Item: I do proclaim that the said John Whitgift, with the rest of his brethren, doth spend and waste the patrimony of the Church (which | ought to be employed in the maintenance of true, B iv. faithful ministers, and other Church uses) in (the) persecuting the true members of Christ, her Majesty's most trusty and loving subjects; and also upon their own pomp and ambitious pride, in maintaining a rude ungodly train of vile men, and a company of lewd and graceless children.

6. Item: I do propound that the said John Whitgift and his brethren do, as much as in them lieth, sow sedition and discontentedness between her Majesty and her true loyal subjects, by pretending that their practices in avoiding subscription and in

inquisitorial articles devised by Whitgift for the examination of Nonconformists before his new High Commission, articles which Burghley complained savoured too much of the Romish inquisition. Whitgift's articles each began: 'Item: Objicimus, ponimus, et articulamur, *i.e.* We object, put and article to you, that &c.' See Neal, *Hist. of the Puritans*, I., 337, *n.*

(1) Alluding to the passage in John 10.

(2) *Al.* 'simoniarkes.'

(3) 'Let' is, of course, the synonym of 'hinder.'

depriving men contrary to law, as for the surplice, denying to subscribe, &c., is at her Majesty's commandment. As though her Highness would command that which were contrary unto the true doctrine of our Church, and contrary unto her lawful statutes and privileges; or, as though she would so delude her loving subjects as publicly to maintain that [to be] true doctrine, and these, goodly statutes, which privately she would have violated and trodden under feet.

7. Item: I, the said Martin Senior, do protest and affirm the said John Whitgift, with the rest of his brethren, to have incurred the statute of *premunire facies*, for depriving of ministers for not subscribing, not wearing the surplice, and for other their manifold proceedings against law and equity.

8. Item: I do propound all our bishops for their said practices to be *ipso facto* deprivable, and that her Majesty, if she will do them but right, may by law deprive them all to-night before tomorrow.

9. I do also propound and avouch the said John Whitgift, and
B iv. vers. the rest of his wicked fraternity, | though by outward profession they are in the Church, yet to be none of the Church; but to have, until they repent and desire to be received into the Church, cut themselves (by the persecuting of the truth, and other their heinous sins) from the Church; and so, without their repentance, from the interest and inheritance of the kingdom of Heaven.

Item: I do protest and affirm that the true Church of God ought to have no more to do with John Canterbury, his brother, and their synagogue; namely, with their antichristian Courts of Faculties, &c., with their officers of commissaries, archdeacons, chancellors, officials, dumb ministers, &c.; than with the synagogue of Satan. And that he their head and pope, together with his foresaid rabble, are not to be accounted for that Church, whose censures we are to reverence and obey, and in the unity whereof we are to remain.

Item: Particularly concerning John Canterbury himself, I do affirm, yet no further than *quatenus probabile*, that is, by great likelihood, that he is so finally hardened in his heinous sins against God and His Church; that as he cannot be reclaimed, for his mouth is full of cursing against God and His saints, his feet are swift to shed the blood of the holy ones, he teareth in pieces the churches which he ought to foster, wilfully pulling the shepherds from their sheep, and so scattering them in a most lamentable sort; making much of wicked men that maintain his popedom, and smiting the righteous for gainsaying his ways; bringing in daily into the Church, either by himself or his

hang-Johns (1), new errors not | heard of before; blaspheming the C i.
way of truth. And being rooted in malice against that truth of Christ Jesus (who is blessed for ever) which he may see, if he did not hoodwink himself, he with all his power contrarieth and striveth against the going forward of the Gospel, lest by the light thereof his sins should be reproved. Finally, he hath in him too too many likely testimonies of an heir of the kingdom of darkness, where, without his true turning unto the Lord, he shall live in hell forever.

And, wicked Man! if thou meanest to be elsewhere received, that is, into Christ's Kingdom, turn thee from thy wickedness, and let men and angels be witnesses of thy conversion. Thy high place cannot save thee from His wrath, whose truth thou suppressest, and whose members thou dost persecute and imprison. And I would not wish thee to defer thy repentance, lest thou callest with the foolish virgins when there is no opening. Thou seest even here upon earth manifest tokens of God's anger towards thee. For thou seekest for honour; but, alas, I know none more contemptible than thyself. The poorest faithful minister in the Lord hath more true reverence in one day than thou hast had since the first time of thy popedom. There are almost none of God's children but had as lieve see a serpent as meet thee; not because they fear thy face, but inasmuch as it grieveth them that their eyes are forced to look upon so wicked an enemy of God and His Church. Thine own creatures, themselves, honour thee but as tyrants are commonly honoured of their parasites and sycophants. Thy brother, the Pope, | hath the like honour C i. vers.
unto thine; that is, an honour whose end will be shame and confusion of face for ever. The fearful and contemptible end[s] that have been brought upon many of them ought to terrify thee. Nay, the message of death which the Lord sent lately, even into thine own house, ought to move thee, and face thee to confess that thy years also, yea, and days, are numbered. Doctor Perne (2), thou knowest, was thy joy, and thou his darling. He was the dragon from whose serpentine breasts thou didst first draw this poison, wherewith now thou infectest the Church of God, and feedest thyself unto damnation. He lived a persecutor, an atheist, an hypocrite, and a dissembler, whom the world

(1) M. 'Hang-Ions.' The word is not found in the dictionaries and glossaries; it evidently means 'hangers on,' parasites or sycophants.

(2) Dr. Andrew Perne, the 'Old Turncoat,' died while visiting Whitgift at Lambeth, April 26, 1589. The present Tract was published July 29 of the same year, and was probably written within a few weeks of Perne's decease. He befriended Whitgift at Peterhouse in the early days of Queen Mary by enabling him to escape the tonsure, though no doubt during Mary's reign he had to dissemble his Protestant and evangelical views. See *Hist. Intro.*, 112 f.

pointed at, and he died, thou knowest, the death due unto such a life as he led; thou knowest he died suddenly even at thine own palace of Lambeth, when, in thine own judgment he was likely, in regard of bodily strength, though not of age, to outlive thee. And take thou his death for a forewarning of thy destruction, except thou repent.

And these, brother Martin, with such-like points, or some of those positions [were they], wherewith I could have thwacked my uncles about the shoulders, I ween, an I had been in thy place. There is one question more which *I* would have propounded for my uncka Bridges' sake—O, *I* love him, thou knowest. And therefore thus would *I* have set down my proper-sition on his behalf:

I, Martin Senior, Gentleman, do here protest, affirm, propound, and defend, that if John Canterbury will needs have a fool in his house wearing a wooden dagger, and a cockscombe,
C ii. that | none is so fit for that place as his brother John a Bridges, Dean of Sarum. And that he, viz. John Bridges, is by right to displace the other, with whom Lambeth now plays the ass, and is himself to be, after a solemn manner, according to the book of ordaining bishops and priests, invested unto that room [place]; having for his officers and daily attendants these gentlemen following: First and foremost, Dr. Robert Some, for his confessor; who also, when his master, John Sarum (1), hath no use of his service, may be at my lord's grace's commandment, to read the *starve-us* (2) book in his chapel at Lambeth. Secondly, if he were not something touched with the coinquination (3) of the flesh, I would appoint none but Dr. Underhill (4) to be his

(1) John Piers, Bishop of Salisbury, 1577—1594.

(2) A large number of words containing the letters *er* in the first (and accented) syllable, formerly were pronounced as if spelt *ar*, *e.g.*, merchant, person [parson], terrier, &c. Service was sarvice; hence Martin's atrocious pun.

(3) Utter defilement.

(4) The qualifications of Dr. Underhill for the post of almoner in Martin's satirical arrangement can now only be inferred from his subsequent conduct as Bishop of Oxford, to which see he was appointed in December of this same year. He had already, it is true, signalised his aversion to supervision in the management of public affairs by resisting the visitation of New College (of which he was a fellow) by Bishop Horne. But a clearer light is thrown upon his character by the arrangements to which he consented when he became Bishop of Oxford. The see had been vacant for twenty-one years and was of small value, but Underhill was persuaded to accept it, Sir John Harington tells us, 'as in the way to a better.' It was necessary that a bishop should be appointed in order that the leases belonging to the diocese might be

almoner. Thirdly, Bancroft and drunken Gravat (1) should be the yeomen of his cellar. Anderson (*a*), parson of Stepney, renewed and the large fines be received on the granting of the renewals. The best of the leases went to Essex, and the fines to Walsingham. Underhill, for his share of the nefarious transaction, got the bishopric and the promise of a better; he died two years later in poverty.—Harington's *Briefe View*, p. 149; White's *Eliz. Bishops*, p. 316. See also THESES MARTINIANÆ, p. 333, *note* (3).

(*a*) This Chaplain robbed the poor men's box at Northampton, played the Potter's part in the Morrice Dance, and begot his maid with child in Leicestershire; and these things he did since he was first priest (2).

The assigning of the participants in the ordination of Whitgift's house-fool takes us back to the portrait of Martin Marprelate and his associates in Cooper's *Admonition* (pp. 84, 85; Arber's ed., pp. 71, 72), which was answered by Martin in HAY ANY WORKE, *ante*, p. 281, *note* (2).

(1) *Al.* 'Grauare.' See HAY ANY WORKE, p. 262, *note* (4), where Gravat's drinking habits are alluded to. Bancroft is described in the same Tract as a 'trencher-chaplain'; and such is the portrait which tradition hands down to us: a lusty good-liver, with a taste for rigorous physical exercises. Perhaps our surprise is misplaced when we learn that he is the originator in the Anglican Church of the theory of the divine authority of its episcopacy. Bancroft seems to have been markedly deficient in bishoply gifts and graces; the superhuman authority was to redress this lack. See HAY ANY WORKE, p. 267, *note* (2).

(2) A note on the Maygames will be found in HAY ANY WORKE, p. 227, *note* (1). This Anderson of Stepney represented the older time, especially before the schism from Rome, when the hierarchy were significantly tolerant of drunken and riotous proceedings within the precincts of the churches. See the reference to Church Ales, which were not entirely abolished until January, 1599, in Stubbes' *Anat. of Abuses* (Furnival's ed.), pp. 151, 152. Archbishop Grindal, in his Articles for the Province of Canterbury, 1576, indicated a prevalent state of affairs by the inquiry he makes. He asks, if the minister and churchwardens have suffered 'any lords of misrule or summer lords or any disguised persons, or others in Christmas or at May-games, or any morris-dancers' to come into the church or church-yard 'namely [=specially] in the time of Common Prayer.'—*Remains* (Parker Soc.), p. 175. The origin and explanation of the conventional characters in the Robin Hood interludes remain obscure. The 'potter's part,' which Parson Anderson sustained, is passingly referred to in Douce's *Illustrations of Shakespeare*, p. 478, where a list of characters, figured in an old woodcut in *Robin Hood's Garland* (1670), include 'the Potter or beggar.' The Potter was probably one of the primitive characters in the legend. To the north of the town of Nottingham lie the ancient pottery villages, whose wares were brought through Sherwood Forest to Nottingham market. In an old black-letter chap-book, rudely printed 'at London upon the thre Crane Wharf by Wyllyam Copland,' entitled 'A mery geste of Robyn Hoode and of hys lyfe, with a newe playe for to be played in May games very plesaunte and full of pastyme,' we find the Potter taking his part. The playe is written in a rhyming doggerel. In the first half the characters are 'Robyn Hode, Lyttel John and Friar Tuck.' In the second the Potter and his boy 'Jacke' take the place of the friar. Robin and Little John have a wager of 'xx pound' that the Potter who for seven years has passed to and fro with his wares to market without paying toll to Robin 'chiefe gouernoure, under the grene woode tree,' shall pay his passage money. First Jack appears; next Robin arrives and breaks the pots carried by the boy and calls the master bad names. Then the Potter comes on the scene, and, after a wordy encounter, he and Robin fall to with quarter-staves, in the use of which Parson Anderson was skilled. The 'Mery Geste' is preserved in the British Museum, press mark C. 21, c. 63. It is a small 4to, Sig. A to Iij.

should make room before him with his two-hand staff, as he did once before the morrice dance, at a market-town in the edge of Buckingham or Bedford shires, where he bare the Potter's part. His two supporters, always to lead him by the arms, must be Sir Leonard Wright (1) and Sir Tom Blan o' Bedford (1), the one whereof also must carry his bauble (2), and the other a looking-glass for their Master, to see whether his catercap doth every way reach over his ears, and to stand according to his calling. As for Mar-Martin (3) and John Frégeville (4) they, *alterius vicibus* (5), shall be the grooms of his stool. The rest of his officers I refer to the discretion of my father, unto whose censure also I do humbly submit this conceit of mine. And it may be I am bold to appoint these men their offices, who happily
C ij. vers. are at my father's direction, to | give their attendance, where he hath appointed them their places. But this I'll bide by, though my father should say nay, that John Bridges deserves to have his place, that wears the wooden-dagger, the cockscomb, and the copper chain at Lambeth. I shall (6) abide by it, come what will of the matter.

The next thing we are to consider, brother Martin, is a more just reprehension of the Puritans than that wherewith thou blamest them. For thou findest fault with the preachers only, and that justly, I confess, because they are no more forward in casting off these our popes. But I say that with more equity thou mightest have blamed both the gentlemen and the people together with the ministers, than the ministers alone. For the ministers though they be faulty, yet notwithstanding, thou canst not deny but the gentlemen and people are as deep in fault as they are. And I would wish them, both the one and the other, to take this, or some such course as I here set down, which also for a great part of it, though not all, I saw in a Puritan's hand, and so came by a copy of it; thinking if I could have heard of my father, to let him have the use of my copy. But now, you see, I publish it myself. I would then have all the Puritans in the

(1) For these two names, see THESES MARTINIANÆ, p. 332, *note* (1), p. 333, *note* (1); THE PROTESTATYON, p. 416.
(2) M. 'bable.'
(3) THESES, p. 329, *note* (3).
(4) See THESES MARTINIANÆ, p. 332, *note* (2).
(5) Either of the two by turns.
(6) M. Ise.

land, both lords, knights, gentlemen, ministers and people, to become joint suitors in one supplication unto her Majesty and the lords of her honorable Privy Council in these petitions:

First, that there may be a redress of the great ignorance wherewith our whole land is overgrown, by placing able and faithful teachers over every congregation, as near as may be. | C iij.

Secondly, that all unlawful and sinful callings may be removed out of our ministry and Church.

Thirdly, that the Church within her Majesty's dominions may be governed by these offices and officers only, which the Lord Christ Jesus hath set down in His Word.

Fourthly, that for the quiet and orderly taking up of these controversies which are risen in our Church, concerning the government and ceremonies thereof, between our prelates and those learned men which are contrary-minded unto them, there might be had a quiet meeting of both the parties, and the controversies determined on their side, who shall be found to deal for (and not against) the truth.

Or, if this fourth petition cannot take place, I would have this in the stead thereof, viz.:—

That it may please her Majesty, and the Lords of her Majesty's honorable Privy Council, to see that the true subjects of the Crown, may not be troubled as now they are, for defending such points as, being according unto the Word of God, are also according to the privileged doctrine of the Church of England, which is maintained by the statutes of this land. And that, in case the prelates do molest any man, as now they do, for maintaining the doctrine of our Church, or otherwise contrary unto the law of our land, it may be lawful for him or them thus injured (1) to have his remedy at the King's Bench against the prelates.

Now, Jack, what sayest thou? I am sure thou canst not deny but these petitions, in thy judgment, would be an easy suit. I trow so, too; and I think that now thou findest greater fault, or at | the least as great, with the Puritan C iij. vers.

(1) 'Injuried' in the original, as from the verb 'to injury.' *See* HAY ANY WORKE, 234, *note* (1); *ibid.*, 256.

noblemen, gentlemen and people as with the ministers, because this or the like course goeth not on forward. And I can tell thee there would be gotten an hundred thousand hands to this supplication of known men in the land, all her Majesty's most loyal and trusty loving subjects. Thou mayest then well think what a stroke so many would strike together, especially in so reasonable and just a suit. And hereby our bishops should be proved to be Lord Bishops indeed, that is (*a*), ungodly and slanderous liars,—When her Majesty saw that the Puritans seek not any intolerable course (for if the foresaid petitions be not to be borne, I know not what is sufferable) as the bishops would pretend; and further it should appear that they are not a few, and of small reputation, but in a manner the strength of our land, and the sinew of her Majesty's royal government, which our bishops do falsely note with the name (1) of 'Puritans.' The consideration whereof, I tell thee, even in policy would make that this their suit should not be hastily rejected, especially in such a time as wherein we now live, in danger of our enemies abroad, and therefore had need of no causes of discouragement at home. Why, man, this were also such a course as it would descrie our Bishops' English to be plain slander and treachery against the truth and the maintainers thereof, as indeed it is.

(*a*) A pretty, brief definition of a Lord Bishop.

'The Bishops' English!' wilt thou say? 'Now, I pray you, reverend brother, what is that?' Why, Jack, dost thou not understand what our Bishops' English meaneth (2)? I do not greatly marvel, because | I myself came but lately unto the knowledge of it aright. But now that I have bestowed a little study that way, I do think there are but a few in England, that see into it as far as I do; *Semper excipio Platonem*, you know, I always give place to my father; for he made the first grammar and lexicon in our time for the understanding hereof. Thy small experience then

Bishops' English. C iv.

(1) Ms. names.

(2) 'He make thee to forget Bishops English, and weep Irish.'—*Pappe with an Hatchet*, D iv. vers.

considered, I wonder not of thine ignorance in this point. But to satisfy thy demand, the Bishops' English is to wrest our language in such sort, as they will draw a meaning out of our English words, which the nature of the tongue can by no means bear. As for example, *Receive the Holy Ghost* (1) in good Bishops' English is as much as *I pray God thou mayest receive the Holy Ghost.* And again, My desire is, that I may be baptized in this faith, to their understanding, and in their dialect is after this sort, *My desire is, not, that I myself, but that this child, whereunto I am a witness, may be baptized in this faith* (2). Further, to intreat her Majesty and the Parliament that the miseries of the Church may be redressed, in the Prelates' language, is to seek the overthrow of the State, and the disquietness of her subjects. And if a man should go and ask thine Uncle Canterbury—but, stay, Boy, I mean not that *thou* shouldst go and demand the question of him!—what it were in the tongue, which he and his brethren do commonly use, to put up such a *dutiful supplication* as before I have set down, why his answer would be presently, that to deal in such a suit were 'to rebel against her Majesty, to pull the crown off of her head, to make a faction to wrest the sceptre out of her hand, and to shake off all authority.' A won | derful thing in thy conceit C iv. vers. I know it will be, to think that 'humbly and dutifully to entreat,' should in the English tongue signify 'by unbridled force undutifully to compel'; and that 'to seek the removing of unlawful callings out of the Church' should be 'to threaten that the lawful magistrate should be thrust out of the Commonwealth.' But, simple Boy, such English must

I am sure that they would not for forty pence that *Receive a bishopric* be expounded unto, *I wish thou mayest receive a bishopric* when they 'receive the Holy Ghost.'

(1) In the ordination of a bishop and also of a priest, Evangelical bishops who could not believe that man might ceremonially bestow upon his fellow-man the gift of the Holy Spirit, and who yet desired to retain their benefices, employed the slippery and perilous defence of a non-natural interpretation of the words employed. The proper criticism of such prevarication is given by Martin in the margin.

(2) The baptismal questions addressed to the godparents of the child were :—

'*Minister.* What doest thou desyre?

'*Aunswere.* Baptisme.

'*Minister.* Wilt thou be baptized?

'*Aunswere.* I will.'

thou study to understand; or else thou shalt never be able to 'pistle thine uncle Canterbury so learnedly as my father and I can do. And therefore I would with that of the first money which thou meanest to bestow upon books, thou wouldst buy thee thy father's (*a*) *Grammar* and his *Lexicon*, with a brief thing called his *Capita Concordantium* (1), and study these well but one month, and out of doubt thou shalt, with the pretty skill thou hast already, be able to overturn any catercap of them all. I would thou knewest what great light to the understanding of all the bishops' treacheries a little time bestowed in these volumes have afforded unto me.

(*a*) These books are not yet printed.

Well, by this time I think thou perceivest what a brave way this supplication, which I speak of, were to prove our bishops to be treacherous and vile slanderers. For hereby her Majesty should perceive that the rumours which bishops raise falsely, concerning the great danger that would ensue unto her crown by the reformation which the Puritans seek and labour for, are nothing else but, in a cunning and mystical kind of unnatural English to translate, 'The Puritans, by the establishing of the kingdom of Christ, seek the sure upholding of the crown and dignity of their dread
D i. sovereign lady Eli | zabeth,' into this handsome bishoplike metre (2): *The Puritans, by their platform of reformation, seek the utter ruin and subversion of Lady Elizabeth, her crown and dignity.* I am sure her Majesty would well-favouredly laugh at such a translation as this is; and yet, behold, such she must be content with, if she will vouchsafe to yield her ears unto a bishop's persuasion. Yet thus much must I say of them, namely, that although they be not the best expounders of words that ever I read, yet do they never translate anything *e verbo ad verbum;* which by learned men is commended as an especial virtue in a translator (3). But, oh! that I, as simple as I am, might

(1) See the list of his alleged writings given by Martin in THE EPISTLE, *ante*, p. 82.

(2) *Al.* miter.

(3) Critics deprecate a word for word translation; a freer transla-

read a lecture or two concerning this bishoplike translation, if not before her Majesty, yet at the least before some of her nobles; I would not doubt but to unfold such a deal of strange English (and yet the very *vernacula*, viz. the natural mother tongue of our unnatural prelates) as was never heard in this land since the Saxon's time.

Here, I know, that thou art ready to enquire two points of me for thine instruction; the one, how our prelates can be proved antichrists by the Church of England; the other, how thou mayst come by those books of my father before quoted. Well thus I will briefly answer thee in both.

For the first, Master Tyndale, in the preface of his book called *The Obedience of a Christian Man*, page 102, proveth them to be antichrists, inasmuch as in their doctrine and their doings, concerning non-residence, they are directly against Christ and his Word! (1). I charge thee, read the place, because at this time I am not at leisure | to set it down. I can tell thee, the reading of it will be double worth thy pains. D i. vers.

My father's books, afore spoken of, are not in print; I confess I would they were. Yet it may be I could direct thee where to go, to have mine (2). But because I mean yet further to punish thee for thy slips in thy 'Pistle, I will not do thee that pleasure. For now indeed, it cometh into my

tion must be employed if the *thought* is to be transferred from one tongue to another. Martin admits that the bishop's translation of the Reformers' plea is free from the fault of verbal literality.

(1) See Tyndale's *Works* (Park. Soc.), i., 147. The passage is characteristic and may be quoted: 'When a whole parish of us hire a schoolmaster to teach our children, what reason is it that we should be compelled to pay this schoolmaster his wages, and he should have licence to go where he will, and to dwell in another country, and to leave our children untaught? Doth not the pope so? Have we not given our tithes of courtesy unto one, for to teach us God's word; and cometh not the pope, and compelleth us to pay it violently to them that never teach? Maketh he not one parson, which never cometh at us? Yea, one shall have five or six [livings], or as many as he can get, and wotteth oftentimes where never one of them standeth. Another is made vicar, to whom he giveth dispensation to go where he will, and to set in parish priest which can but minister a sort of dumb ceremonies. . . . These deeds are verily against Christ. Shall we therefore judge you by your deeds, as Christ commandeth? So are ye false prophets, and disciples of Antichrist, or Against-Christ.'

(2) 'My copies in MS. of my father's books.'

mind that thou hast dealt foolishly in two points, beside all other thy forereckoned oversights.

First, thou hast hereby exasperated against thy father and other poor men his well-willers, not only, thy uncle Caiaphas, but hast set on the most of thy neames (1), to give their advice, how to entrap him and his favourers. For ten to one, but that Beelzebub of London (2) will discharge the pursuivants to go to their business with this or the like madmonition.

'My masters, you must not sleep in this matter. The maintenance of the peace of our Church standeth now in your faithfulness and care. They are desperately set to overthrow all. And, by the mass, I will be a pursuivant myself, rather than abide this tumult. And if I were, I trow, I would watch about Travers's house in Milk Street; who go in and out there; and I would know what they carried under their cloaks too, even any of them all (3). There is Paget at Hounslow; I beshrew my heart if I would show him any such favour as my Lord's Grace here doth (4), "They are naught, they are naught, all the pack of them. I'll trust none of them all." There is Cartwright too at Warwick; he hath got him such a company of disciples, both
D ij. of the worshipful and of the poorest sort, as we | have no cause to thank him (5). Never tell me, that he is too grave to trouble

(1) Not *one* uncle, Caiaphas [of Canterbury], but most of thy uncles (neames).

(2) Aylmer.

(3) Walter Travers' house in Milk Street (Cheapside) was probably already under espionage. But in any case it would be labour in vain. The author of *Ecclesiastical Discipline* and the preacher at the Temple was not a man of stratagems, good or bad. See THE EPISTLE, p. 61, *note* (1), for some account of Travers.

(4) See a reference to Eusebius Paget and his persecutions in THE EPISTLE, p. 62, *note* (2). The words following are those employed by Whitgift at Paget's trial.

(5) Thomas Cartwright was at this time the Master to the new Hospital at Warwick. He made it very plain that he disliked 'Martin's conceits,' and protests that in associating his name with the Tracts, the 'Anti-Martins' have libelled him. The following September (1590) he was summoned before the High Commission, and, refusing to take the oath *ex officio*, was lodged in the Fleet. Writing from prison to Burghley of the above misrepresentation, he says, 'Yet I am hable to make good proof, that from the first beginning of Martin unto this day, I have continually, upon any occasion, testified both my mislike and sorrow for such kind of disordered proceeding.'—Strype's *Whitgift*, III., 232. It is to be noted, however, that Job Throkmorton visited Cartwright in the Fleet in order to consult him upon the Arthington-Hackett affair.

himself with Martin's conceits. Tush, they will do anything to overthrow us, that they might have our livings, any o' them all. I know what a good living is able to do with the best of us all. Cartwright seeks the peace of our Church no otherwise than his platform may stand. (And you know, my Lord, that there is no biting to the old snake. And I do not see, o' my troth, but that Martin's abettors may be worse than himself, and do more mischief) (1). Therefore go me to all their houses; spare me none of them, knights, gentlemen, and all. For I trust the High Commission may go to any (2) knight's, yea, or nobleman's house in England.—Therefore, my Lords, I would wish that some continual spy may be in all those places which are most suspected. And let him learn to be wise, to creep into acquaintance with some of the preciser sort, and look smoothly for a time, until he can execute his commission.'

Lo, young man, do not you deserve stripes, for fleshing on these bloodhounds in this sort? Let men look to keep them in as good temper as possibly they can, yet will they have (*a*) a black tooth in their heads, do what they may. But yet I would have borne with all this, if thou hadst taken a little pains in rhyming with Mar-Martin (3), that the cater-caps may know how the meanest of my father's sons is able to answer them, both at blunt and sharp. And for thy further instruction against another rhyme, here is a sample for thee of that which in such like cases thou art to perform, if I or my father should set thee a work. |

(*a*) The manifest token of a mad dog.

D ij. vers.

THE FIRST RISING, GENERATION, AND ORIGINAL OF MAR-MARTIN,

From Sarum came a goose's egg,
With specks and spots bepatched;
A priest of Lambeth couched thereon;
Thus was Mar-Martin hatched.

Cartwright, while thus dissociating himself from Martin's style of attacking the bishops, does not appear to have denied the allegation formally alleged against him that he knew, but would not divulge, who was the real author of the Marprelate Tracts. Did he know that Throkmorton was Martin, and yet consent to receive him in a friendly fashion?

(1) Aylmer is supposed to turn at the point to address the Archbishop, and below (Therefore, my lords, &c.), the rest of the bishops.

(2) In the original we have 'knight,' but our usage requires both knight and nobleman to be put into the possessive.

(3) See THESES MARTINIANÆ, p. 329, *note* (3).

Mar-Martin engendered of Canterbury and Sarum.

Whence hath Mar-Martin all his wit
But from that egg of Sarum?
The rest comes all from great Sir John
Who rings us all this larum.

What can the cockatrice hatch up,
But serpent, like himself?
What sees the Ape within the glass,
But a deformèd Elf?

Then must Mar-Martin have some smell
Of forge or else of fire;
A sot in wit, a beast in mind,
For so was dam and sire.

Or else thou mightest have requited him in this Epitaph; thus—

If that Mar-Martin die the death that to the dog is due,
Upon his tomb engrave this verse, and you shall find it true.

He lies endichèd here that from the ladder top
Did once bebless the people thus, but first he kisst the rope.

Mar-Martin's auricular confession from the top of a gibbet (1).

Come near, quoth he, take heed by me,
I love to lie by riming;
'Tis just you see, and doth agree
That now I die by climbing.

What wretch but I, that vowed to lie,
All falsehood still defending?
Who may say, Fie? No beast but I,
Lo, here you see my ending. |

D iij.

I lived a wretch, I die a wretch,
My days and death agree;
Whose life is blameful, his death is shameful,
Be warned, ye rogues, by me.

The justest I hated, the godliest I rated,
And thus I railed my fill;
The good I detested, the best things I wrested
To serve mine own beastly will.

(a) Believe him then, but drink not with him.

Religion I loathed, myself I betrothed
To all the lewd snares of sin,
'Tis shame to say more, take heed of a whore,
Her (a) marks stick yet in my skin.

(1) The above epitaph and the confession at the gallows were answered in *Martins Months Mind*, the latter part of which (at sig. E) is occupied with 'A true report of the death and buriall of Martin Mar-prelate.' But the allusions to the gallows began with *Mar-Martin*, who in the last six lines of his doggerel gives an account of Martin's end. 'Here hangs knave Martine a traitorous Libeler he was,' &c.

Ask you the cause? I spurned at God's laws
And hence comes all my wrack;
Where should he dwell, that fears not hell,
But with the furies black?

A beast that braves, a tongue that raves,
Will God revenge in ire;
Then vengeance must—for God is just—
Fall to Mar-Martin's hire.

Take example then, my clergy Chaplains, by this lamentable fall of your Mar-Martin.

My tongue in ribaldry
My heart in villainy
My life in treachery
Hath wrought my fall
I strove for the prelacy
And so shook off honesty
O, vile indignity!
Yet would this were all.

Lo, youth; though I were loth to 'file my fingers with such a brothel beast as this Mar-Martin is, yet, because thou didst let him go by thee, methought, half unbranded, I was the willinger, as thou seest, to give him a wipe or two; which I believe he will never claw off with honesty while he | lives. And I would wish him, with the rest of the rimers, if they be wise, to take heed of my next 'Pistle. Indeed, I deny not, but thou hast said prettily to him; neither would I have thee discouraged in thy good and honourable course against these prelates. Nevertheless, I muse thou didst let him go clear away with his popery of Sir Nicholas Priests (1). Also, where like a good Catholic he counsels us (we thank him) to say a round *Pater noster* for Queen Elizabeth, I muse (2) thou saidst nothing to that,

D iij. vers.

(1) Saint Nicholas, who extended his patronage in all directions in the most obliging manner, from schoolboys and poor virgins to sailors and 'clerks,' that is, scholars, was also, in the popular humour of the day, the patron-saint of thieves. Not, we are gravely informed, that he approved of their predatory calling; but owing to the accident that he once prevailed upon some of the fraternity to restore their plunder to its owner; to which may be added the fact that a familiar name for the devil was a shortened form of the saint's name—'Old Nick.' See *King Henry IV.*, First Part, II., i. Martin had some justification for his special use of the epithet, as the instances of church plundering by bishops and clergy already given in these notes sufficiently show. For the legends and customs connected with St. Nicholas's Day, see Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, edited by Ellis, Vol. I., p. 415.

(2) For the significance of the usage of the verb 'muse' in the sense of 'to marvel,' as bearing upon the problem of the authorship of the Tracts, see the *Hist. Intro.* 291, *note* (2).

considering how much her Majesty is beholden to him in that regard. And much more had she been, if he had added an *Ave Maria* to it; those both together, with a piece of St. John's Gospel about one's loins, would have been a principal receipt for the colic. But sure now I think on it, he brought it in only but to make up his rhyme. And if you scan it well, 'tis a pretty one; mark it well:

O England, now full often must thou 'Pater noster' say.

How sayest thou, hast thou any skill in music? If thou have, then I am sure thou wilt confess with me, that this bastard pentameter verse hath a fine sweet loose at the latter end, with a draught of Darby ale. But what sayest thou to it? Whether likest thou the better of these, Nicholas Priests that can so amble away with the *Pater noster*, or of that little priest of Surrey, who bade his maid in her extremity of sickness 'Say *Magnificat*, say *Magnificat*'?

Well, Boy, to draw to an end; notwithstanding thy small defects, persuade thyself that I love thee; doubt not of that. And here, before we part, take this one grave lesson of thine
D iv. elder brother. | Be silent and close; hear many, confer with few. And in this point do as I do; know not thy father, though thou mayest. For I tell thee, if I should meet him in the street, I should never ask him blessing. Walk smoothly and circumspectly: and if any offer to talk with thee of Martin, talk thou straight of the voyage into Portugal, or, of the happy death of the Duke of Guise, or some such accident; but meddle not with thy father. Only, if thou have gathered anything in visitation for thy father, and hast a longing to acquaint him therewith, do no more but intreat him to signify, in some secret printed 'Pistle, where 'a will have it left, and that'll serve thy turn as good as the best. The reason why we must not know our father is that I fear lest some of us might fall into John Canterbury's hand; and then he'll threaten us with the rack, unless we bewray all we know. And what get we then by our knowledge? For I had rather be ignorant of that'll

do me good than know that'll hurt me, quoth (1)
Mr. Martin Senior. Farewell, Boy,
and learne to reverence
thy elder brother.

(2) *Page* 6, *line* 18, *for* give all the good *read* go all the ground.

Page 14, *line* 12, *for* avoiding *read* urging.

(1) ꝑt. ka.
(2) These corrections have been made in the foregoing text.

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VII. THE PROTESTATYON

? Printed at the Priory, Wolston, the residence of Roger Wigston, Esq., September, 1589

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

It has already been stated that the Martinist press and the printers, John Hodgkins and his assistants, Valentine Simms and Arthur Thomlyn, were seized at Newton Lane, Manchester, by the Earl of Derby's men. The printers were busy printing the long-promised MORE WORK FOR THE COOPER. The adventurous story of the removal of the press from Wolston, the fatal accident with the type at Warrington, and the catastrophe at Manchester are fully told in the *Historical Introduction*, 189 *et seq.*

When the news of the misadventure reached Job Throkmorton, Penry was with his friends at Wolston, where also was Henry Sharpe, the bookbinder, hiding at the house of his father-in-law. Throkmorton summoned Penry to Haseley. The result was the issue of this defiant little Tract, printed probably at Wolston, where we know from the printers' evidence there was a press still remaining. The *Historical Introduction*, on pp. 191—195, gives some account of the difficulties of getting it printed and of the pitiful and blundering efforts of some unskilled hands who set up and printed off the first sheet. A specimen of their work can be seen in the reproduction of the title-page given at p. 395. The Tract is a small 8vo, Roman type, of thirty-two pages.

The contents of the PROTESTATYON were determined by the Manchester catastrophe. Martin is not to be silenced; his chief concern is about the printers, left to the mercy of Whitgift and the rack; persecution can but benefit a good cause; and Martinism is only to be put down by reason and Scripture. This part of the work contains several pathetic personal touches: his need of self-examination in the face of the calamity that has overtaken his enterprise;

though, as he points out, the goodness of a cause is not to be judged outwardly—the lesson eternally taught by the tragedy of Calvary. The popularity of the Tracts was immense—was there any literary work up to this time published in England that had enjoyed anything like the same vogue?—yet Martin's end in writing was not to amuse.

He points to a long array of writers and writings which he declares are unanswered—the implication being that the Episcopal controversialists, notwithstanding their freedom to print as they list, are not equal to the task. But the harsh measures meted out to the 'seekers after reformation' are having their uses. The vindication of liberty and the demonstration of the folly, as well as the wrongness, of intolerance and persecution are in every generation the sacred trust of nonconforming minorities. That is the great gain of their suffering. We see how this lesson is being gradually learnt by Marprelate. His protest against the employment of imprisonment, whipping, torture, instead of reason and Scripture, leads him along the direct path to toleration and liberty of conscience.

Among the most interesting features of the PROTESTATYON is the brief account it gives us of the contents of MORE WORK FOR THE COOPER, the manuscript of which does not appear to have survived. It followed, so far as we can gather from the bare report before us, the general lines of the primary Tracts—the 'metropoliticall writings' of Marprelate—taking in hand the chief of Episcopal pamphleteers at the moment actively engaged in the controversy. A large share of attention is given to Dr. Robert Some, who had discharged one 'Godly Treatise' against Robert Browne and his revolutionary principle of Church government, and another against John Penry. The PROTESTATYON also supplied some of the lacking proofs of THEBES MARTINIANÆ—a point whose significance in regard to the authorship of the last-named Tract has not yet been thoroughly traced out.

The references to the marriage of the author are of great

interest in view of the fact that Job Throkmorton was married very shortly after the publication of the PROTESTATYON. See *Historical Introduction*, p. 306. And it is characteristic of the author's genius that the mention of his marriage brings back suddenly his whimsical mood. Whenever he gets married it will 'do him good at the heart' to see 'a dozen of good and honest lord bishops dance at his wedding.' Only unfortunately, as Master Tyndale said, there could not be naturally any good and honest lord bishop. See below, p. 406.

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THE PROTESTATYON
OF MARTIN MARPRELATE.

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Wherein, notwithstanding the surprising of the Printer, he maketh it known unto the world, that he feareth neither Proud Priest, Antichristian Pope, Tyrannous Prelate, nor Godless Catercap; but defieth all the race of them by these presents; and offereth conditionally, as is further expressed herein, by open disputation to appear in the defence of his cause, against them and theirs.

Which challenge if they dare not maintain against him, then doth he also publish that he never meaneth, by the assistance of God, to leave the assailing of them and their generation until they be utterly extinguished out of our Church.

Published
by the worthy gentleman Doctor Martin Marprelate,
Doctor in all the faculties, Primate, and Metropolitan.

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THE PROTESTATYON

OF MARTIN MARPRELAT

Wherin notwithstanding the surprizing of the printer, he maketh it known vnto the world that he feareth, neither proud priest, Antichristian pope, tiranous prellate, nor godlesse catercap: but defieth all the race of them by these presents and offereth conditionally, as is farthere expressed hearin by open disputation to apear in the defence of his caus aginst them and theirs

Which challeng if they dare not maintaine aginst him: then doth he also publishe that he never meaneth by the assistaunce of god to leave the a slayking of them and theire generation vntill they be vterly extinguished out of our church

Published
by the worthie gentleman D. martin mar
prelat D. in all the faculties prayse and
cases of felons

NOTE.—The above reproduction of the original title-page shows, by its many errors and imperfections, the stress and the practical difficulties under which the last of the TRACTS was produced. The chief word in the title-page is spelt 'Protestatyon'; in the commencement of the text the spelling is 'Protestacion.'

THE PROTESTACION 3

OF MARTIN THE GREAT

THOU canst not lightly be ignorant, good reader, of that which hath lately fallen unto some things of mine, which were to be printed, or in printing; the press, letters, workmen and all, apprehended and carried as malefactors before the magistrate (1); whose authority I reverence, and whose sword I would fear (2), were I as wicked as our Bishops are. These events I confess do strike me and give me just cause to enter more narrowly into myself to see whether I be at peace with God, or no. But utterly to discourage me from mine enterprise, a greater matter than that comes to I hope shall never be able. The state of the poor men that are taken I do bewail; not because they can (3) hurt me, for I assure thee, they know not who I am, but inasmuch as, I fear, the tyranny of our wicked priests will do that against them, which neither the Word of God doth warrant, nor law of the land doth permit. | *For, as their* 4 *hatred unto the cause is without ground, so their cruelty to those that profess the same is without measure.* Therefore, good reader, if thou hear of any mean (4) or compassionable punishment inflicted upon them (who, to say the truth, have deserved none at all—I mean the printers) I would never have thee stand to expostulate with our Bishops for this untimely lenity of theirs (5), for whom I dare take mine oath (for I know them so well) that if there fall out any good to those poor men through the providence of God, and

(1) See *Hist. Intro.*, 189 f.
(2) Romans 13[4].
(3) The print is here imperfect. It reads 'not becaus thye au hurt mee.' Before 'au' there is a faint suggestion of a letter.
(4) Moderate.
(5) As a matter of fact, Hodgkins and his men, Thomlyn and Symms, were put upon the rack by Whitgift. See *Hist. Intro.*, 197 *et seq.*

the gracious clemency of her Majesty, they, for their parts, are no more guilty or accessory unto it, than the Spanish inquisitors themselves. For indeed, in this one point they are of my mind; viz., that reformation cannot well come to our Church without blood; and that no blood can handsomely be spilt in that cause, unless they themselves be the butchers and horseleeches to draw it out. Thou seest
5 evidently, they claim that as a piece | and portion of their inheritance (1). But tell them from me, that we fear not men, that can but kill the body; because we fear that God, who can cast both body and soul into unquenchable fire (2). And tell them also this. *That the more blood the Church loseth, the more life and blood it gets.* When the fearful sentence pronounced against the persecutors of the truth is executed upon them, I would then gladly know, whether they who go about thus to shed our blood, or we whose blood crieth for vengeance against them, shall have the worst end of the staff. We are sure to possess our souls in everlasting peace, whensoever we leave this earthly tabernacle; and in the mean time we know that an hair of our head cannot fall to the ground without the will of our heavenly Father (3), Who, of His great mercy, loveth us in, and for, our Saviour Christ Jesus; and that, with a love as far passing the love of a natural father toward his children, as He who so loveth
6 us, excelleth all earthly parents. This per | suasion being steadfastly engrafted in their hearts, who either now or hereafter shall be trodled (4) for this cause, will be a comfort to them in the midst of all their distresses.

And, good reader, whosoever thou art, I would not have thee discouraged at this, that is lately fallen out. *Reason not from the success of things unto the goodness of the cause.* For that savoureth too much of the flesh. If, in

(1) See the defence of religious persecution.—Bishop Cooper's *Admonition*, pp. 127—129 (Arber's ed., pp. 99—101; Bishop Sandys, writing to the Privy Council, 1564, Camden Soc., *Miscell.*, Vol. IX., p. 2; Some's *Godly Treatise* (1588), A ij.

(2) Matthew 10^{28}.

(3) Luke 21^{18}; Acts 27^{34}.

(4) Perhaps a misprint for 'troubled'; sometimes spelt 'trobled.'

beholding the state of the Low Countries and of France, thou wouldst have so reasoned with thyself, thou mightest easily have given the holy religion of God the slip, twenty years ago. Thou must think that in these successes, though they be many times lamentable to the children of God, yet the Lord Himself hath a special hand; to try, it may be, who they are that, with a double face, and who, with a single (1) heart, do affect the cause. As to the present action, howsoever there may escape me some corruption in the handling, let them be well assured it was not undertaken to be intermitted | at every blast of evil success. 7
Nay, let them know that, by the grace of God, the last year of Martinism, that is, of the descrying and displaying of lord bishops, shall not be till full two years after the last year of Lambethism—that is, of joining most godless proceedings unto the maintenance of (2) antichristian and unlawful callings in God's Church, against the known truth; for that, indeed, is rightly called Lambethism, or Cooperism: choose you whether [which].

And be it known unto them that Martinism stands upon another manner of foundation than their prelacy doth, or can, stand. Therefore if they will needs overthrow me, let them go in hand with the exploit (3), rather by proving the lawfulness of their places, than by exercising the force of their unlawful tyranny. For, once again, I fear not their tyranny. And one sound syllogism (which, I tell you, is dainty ware in a bishop's breast), brought in for the proof of their unlawful callings, shall more dismay and sooner induce me to give over my course than a thousand warrants, a thousand pursuivants, a thousand threats, | and a thousand 8
racks; which course, because they take not, therefore all their other drifts and devices are to none other end than to show the great care and skill they have to carry away all the

(1) M. 'fiuule.'
(2) M. has 'an' before the word 'antichristian,' as though the writer had intended to use the word 'callings' in the singular number.
(3) M. 'Exdloyte.' A few slight printer's errors not here indicated occur on this page.

blows. But what get they by this tyranny, seeing it is truth and not violence that must uphold their places? Do they not know that the more violence they use the more breath they spend. And what wisdom were this, trow ye, for a man that had coursed himself windless, to attempt the recovery of his breath by running up and down to find air? So you know he might soon have as much life in his members as lord bishops have religion and conscience in their proceedings.

The whole issues of their force (1) and bloodthirsty attempts doth nothing else but witness against them, that they are the children of those fathers, who never as yet durst abide to have their proceedings examined by the Word. And, methinks, they should be ashamed to have it recorded unto ages to come that they have ever shunned to
9 maintain their cause, either by open disputation, | or by any other sound conference or writing. Let me be overthrown by any of these ways, and I do here by these my writings publicly protest that I will never molest lord bishop again while I live; but will, with very great vehemency, to the uttermost of my endeavour, maintain them and their cause, as ever I did oppugn the same. Otherwise, I do with the like constancy and resolution protest that, by the aid and assistance of God, I will never leave the displaying of them and their proceedings, until they be made as odious in our Church and Commonwealth as that they be thought of all sorts (2) unworthy to be harboured therein.

And this offer of mine, so reasonable, and in every respect so easy to be yielded unto, if they refuse, who seeth not therein a secret implying, and a close granting (3), of the desperateness and misery of their cause; which shaketh and quivereth, and shrinketh as it were, in the sinews, to think that there should be any buckling towards (4); and

(1) Perhaps a misprint for 'fierce.'
(2) *I.e.*, by all sorts.
(3) Reluctant confession.
(4) Any preparation for battle.

therefore doth wisely shift off all honest and | lawful means 10 Sig. B
of trial, as having nothing to uphold it but tyranny and blood?

Now, because they would gladly know Martin, I will here set them down a way, whereby they may not only know him, but (that which is more delightful unto them) they may quench their thirst with his blood, if they will; provided that they be able to make their cause good against him by the Word of God.

I do therefore by this my PROTESTATION, make it known to the whole Church of England, especially unto our magistrates, more especially unto our gracious Sovereign, and unto all posterities to come; that I, who do now go under the name of *Martin Marprelate*, do offer personally to appear, and there to make myself known in open disputation, upon the danger, not only of my liberty, but also of my life; to maintain, against all our bishops, | or any else whosoever that shall 11
dare in any scholastical manner to take their parts, the cause of the Church government which is now in controversy betwixt me and our prelates; so that(1) I may have this condition following inviolably kept and observed; viz., that for appearing, or for anything that I have either published or caused to be published in this cause, I be not dealt with, or molested, except they overthrow me by the Word of God; which if they do, confusion be upon me if I do not yield. But if in this encounter I overthrow them (as I make no question of it, if they abide the push) then, they to truss up and be packing to ROME, and to trouble our

(1) That is, '*if* I may have.' Elliptical for 'be it so that.'

Church no longer. Provided also, that if any of the Puritans will join with me, and venture their lives in the cause, it may be lawful for them to
12 come in freely | against these dragons in disputation.

I call thee again, good reader, to witness the indifferency (1) of my challenge and offer, and to judge what account thou oughtest to make of our present church government by lord archbishops and bishops, upon the refusal of the former condition by them; and whether, thereupon, I may not justly and lawfully proclaim the victory over them, in manner following.

Be it known unto all states, churches, and universities under heaven, and unto all men, either present or to come, of what estate or condition soever; that, inasmuch as Master Fenner's and Master Penry's syllogisms, whereby Dr. Bridges' book is confuted, and the cause of reformation unanswerably proved (2); Master Travers's (3), Master

(1) Impartiality.

(2) The work by Dudley Fenner to which Martin refers is the *Defence of the Godlie Ministers against the Slaunders of D. Bridges* (1587); the third section of which, consisting of 'the forme of Church-gouernment,' propounded by the reformers in opposition to Bridges, 'is according to his demaunde, Sillogisticallie proved to be ordinarie, perpetuall, and the best.' See THE EPISTLE, p. 32, *note* (4). Of the works ascribed to Penry, none seem to answer Martin's description. *M. Some laid open in his coulers* is clearly not from Penry's pen; nor can its contents be regarded as an answer to Bridges' *Defence*. There is, however, a companion volume to Dudley Fenner's, issued anonymously, the title of which is *A Defence of the Ecclesiasticall Discipline ordayned of God to be used in his Church. Against a Replie of Master* BRIDGES *to a briefe and plain Declaration of it, which was printed An.* 1584. *Which replie he termeth,* 'A Defence of the gouernement established in the Church of Englande, for Ecclesiasticall matters.' 1588. It is a well-written book, forcible in argument and strong and clear in style. The absence of any analytic division into sections or chapters, or of marginal notes, may indicate some haste in its preparation. Martin Marprelate, it may be confidently assumed, both knew who was the author of this book, and knew also Penry's literary activities; and if this *Defence of the Ecclesiasticall Discipline* against the work of Bridges be the only contemporary writing to which his words apply, then, upon a very high authority, we may add one more to the products of Penry's prolific pen, and, in the absence of more definite indications, should place its appearance early in 1588. Of course, it is just conceivable that Martin hints that Penry contributed the Syllogisms which appeared in the earlier Marprelate Tracts! It is a suggestion which I dismiss.

(3) Walter Travers' work, *Ecclesiasticæ Disciplinæ et Anglicanæ*

Cartwright's (1) and Master Gilbey's (2) [writings], the *Demonstration of Discipline* (3), the *Abstract* (4), the *Counterpoyson* (5), Master Tyndale's, Master Frith's, Master Barnes' (6), Master Hooper's (7), Master Pilkington's (8), Master Foxe's (9) and Master Martin Marprelate's

Ecclesiæ ab illa aberrationis . . . explicatio, has already been referred to, THE EPISTLE, p. 61, *note* (1).

(1) The last acknowledged work of Cartwright is *The Rest of the Second Replie . . . against Master D[octor] Whitgift*, the date of which is 1577. But he is also credited with translating and supplying a preface to the work of Travers mentioned in the last note, under the title of *A Full and Plaine Declaration, &c.*, published in 1574. See, as before, THE EPISTLE, p. 61, *note* (1).

(2) Martin had probably in his mind *A Pleasaunte Dialogue betweene a Souldior of Barwicke and an English Chapelaine* by Anthony Gilby. The 'Hundred Points of Popery,' extracted from this work may be conveniently consulted in Arber's *Introductory Sketch*, p. 28.

(3) Udall's *Demonstration*; for which see *Hist. Intro.*, 213, 313; THE EPITOME, 'Epistle to the Clergy,' *ante*, p. 120.

(4) *The Abstract*, which appeared in 1584 and gave rise to an extended controversy, is referred to at some length in THE EPISTLE, p. 20, *note* (2).

(5) *The Counterpoyson*, by Dudley Fenner, is a contribution to the *Abstract* controversy. See as above.

(6) The edition of their *Works* by John Foxe. See THESES MARTINIANÆ, § 45, p. 312, *note* (2); § 57, p. 315, *note* (1).

(7) The martyr's popular work with the reforming party was *The Confession of Ihon Hoopers fayth*, a small 4to, published in 1550. In it he says, 'As concerning the ministers of the Church, I beleue that the church is bound to no sort of people, or any ordinary succession of bishops, Cardinals, or such like, but unto the only word of god, and none of them should be beleued but when thei speke ye word of god.'—G ij.

(8) James Pilkington, who on his return from the Marian exile became Bishop of Durham. His *Works*, published by the Parker Soc., show how near akin he was to the nonconforming Protestants of his day. There is an excellent letter, preserved by Strype (*Life of Parker*, III., Appen., pp. 69 *ff*), in which he asks the sympathy of the Earl of Leicester on behalf of those whose consciences were oppressed by the increasing rigour of the archbishop and court prelates in regard to the wearing of Popish vestments in the year 1564. In it he writes, 'Paul circumcidet Timothe, when there was hope to wynne the Jewes; but when they wolde have it of necessitie, heo wolde not circumcide Titus. Therefore compelling wold not be used in things of liberty. . . . Consider I beseech your Honour, how that al countries, which have reformed religion, have cast away the Popishe apparel [along] with the Pope, and yet we that wold be taken for the best, contend to keep it as a holie relique. Merke also, how many Mynisters there be here in al countries, that be so zelous, not only to forsake that wicked doctryne of Poperie; but ready to leave the mynisterie and their livings, rather than to be like the Popish teachers of such superstitions, auther in apparel or behaviour.' With these frank and commonsense views of the Protestant position, bishop though he was, it is no wonder that Martin placed Pilkington among the supporters of reformation.

(9) The name of John Foxe was a tower of strength to the thorough-

13 writings, together with other learned discourses | more, whereby the corruption and the unlawfulness of the places and proceedings of lord bishops are shamefully laid open unto the world, are as yet unanswered; and likely to be no otherwise confuted than with slanders, ribaldry, scurrility, reviling, imprisonment and torture; and, inasmuch as they dare not maintain their cause against me by open and public disputation, that, therefore, they do manifestly confess their cause and proceedings to be clean foiled, overthrown, and made even with the ground; in such sort as, beside whorish impudency, halter, axe, bonds, scourging and racking, with such other weapons as were bequeathed unto them by their forefathers, the ancient enemies and persecutors of the Church, they have not left any instrument to defend themselves.

And let them be sure, seeing they dare come to no lawful way of trial with me, that there shall not be a post in any great street or place of concourse, almost in the land, but I 14 will make an affix (1), and set up this my foresaid de | claration of the victory had over them, to their shame; and I will also make foreign nations ring of their villanies and ungodliness, if the publishing of their doings in Latin can do it.

And as for myself, my life, and whatsoever else I possess,

going Protestant reformers. His *Acts and Monuments*, the result of years of toil and persistent search and inquiry, was regarded as a work of national importance; archbishops and bishops were required by the Canons, ed. 1571, to have a copy for the use of their households; later it was ordered, with the Bible and Jewel's *Apology*, to be part of the furnishing of all churches. The *Acts and Monuments* might be regarded as a sufficient exposure of the iniquities of prelates; yet more than his writings, most of which were written in Latin, there was the notorious fact that, although held in the highest repute because of his work, his sterling honesty of character, and especially because of his magnanimity, he lived in comparative poverty, because he could not subscribe to the Episcopal articles; in particular he would not promise to wear the clerical vestments. All he had was a poor prebend at Salisbury Cathedral. Asked to subscribe, he took his Greek Testament out of his pocket and declared it was the only book he would subscribe to. Threatened with deprivation, he mentioned his small benefice, all he had in the Church, that, he said, they might take, adding, 'and much good may it do you.' The bishops, however, had not sufficient courage to carry out the penalty of deprivation in the case of John Foxe.

(1) Showing the origin of our words 'to post (bills),' and 'poster.'

I have long ago (1) set up my rest (2); making that account of it, as in standing against the enemies of God, and for the liberty of His Church, it is no value in my sight. My life in this cause shall be a gain to the Church, and no loss to myself, I know right well; and this is all the reckoning which, by the assistance of the Lord, I will make as long as I live, of all the torments they have devised for me. I am blamed of many in this mine attempt, not only for throwing myself into great danger; but also for the utter undoing of my wife and children (3). I do thank them with all my heart, for their care over those poor souls, and commend them for their secrecy and wisdom that, in knowing my wife and children, they have not by showing their unmeasurable love towards them discovered me. | You see what it is when 15
wise men have the handling of a matter. I perceive, if these men were not very provident and wary, that Martin could not be long unknown. For I tell you, if a man's wife and children be once known, it is not possible that he can be secret any long time. And yet, methinks, that all their wisdom, and all their care over my wife and children, when the matter is well weighed, is scant worth three straws. For what if Martin had neither wife nor child in all his life, are they not then something too much overweened (4) in their own conceit, who give out that he hath both? Will you believe me then, if I tell you the truth? To put you therefore out of all doubt, I may safely protest unto you, with a good conscience, that howsoever the speech may seem strange unto many, yet the very truth is that hitherto I never had wife nor child in all my life. Not that I never

1) M. 'agone.'

(2) *To set up one's rest* is a not infrequent phrase in the literature of the period. It occurs in several of Shakespeare's plays (*Comedy of Errors*, iv. 3, 27; *Merchant of Venice*, ij. 2, 96, &c.), and has been explained by his commentators. The expression comes from the card game Primero, and means to stake one's all upon an event; to resolve finally, come what will.

(3) This in reply to a statement made by Bancroft in his sermon at Paul's Cross (Feb. 9, 1589), that if Martin had any consideration for his wife and children he would not have entered upon his dangerous enterprise.

(4) M. 'ouerwayned.'

mean to have any; for it may be, notwithstanding all the rage and barking of the Lambethetical whelps, I may be
16 married, and that | ere it be long (1).

For, methinks, this should be enough that two only of the Metropolitans of the land should continue maiden (though I fear, scarce virgin) priests. But whensoever I am married, it would do me good at the heart, to see a dozen of good and honest lord bishops dance at my wedding; saving that, as Master Tyndale hath very well noted, *Practise of Prelates*, page 374, it is not possible, naturally, that there should be any good and honest lord bishop (2). Well, howsoever it goes with me, you see how little cause, as yet, my wife and children have to fear that antichrist of Lambeth and his instruments.

To omit these matters; will they know, indeed, why I fear them not; and wherefore they ought not to terrify thee, good Reader, if the Lord hath bestowed upon thee the same mind that he hath vouchsafed me? Why, surely, it is, because they, against whom I deal, have so provoked the anger of God and the prayers of His Church against them, as stand long they cannot; if
17 either the | Lord be true of His promise, or the prayers of the Church made in faith can be heard. Of both which I make no question. Hereunto you may add that I fear them not, inasmuch as the end, wherefore I have taken this work in hand, was only the glory of God; by delivering of His Church from the great tyranny and bondage wherewith these tyrants do oppress the same. I dealt not herein, as the Lord knoweth, because I would please myself, or my reader, in a pleasant vein of writing. If that be the thing I sought, or seek, after, then let my writings be buried in the grave of all proud prelates;

(1) Penry was married, as noted in the *Hist. Intro.*, in September of the previous year. Job Throkmorton married Dorothy Vernon. His eldest child, a son, was born in 1590. See *Hist. Intro.*, 306 f.

(2) Martin has already quoted this statement of Tyndale's in the 57th of the THESES MARTINIANÆ, p. 315, where a note will be found giving the words of the reformer.

that is, never mentioned in the Church of God without detestation (1). Even so was it far from me, that, by sharpening my pen against them, I should thereby, as some foolishly give out, make a way for myself, or other great men, unto their livings and promotion. For if the possession and enjoying of a good conscience but for one day alone be not more dear to me than all their ungodly pomp, and ambiti | ous preëminence, then let mine adver- 18
saries prey upon me, and let my reward be nothing else but the very bitterness of their malicious hearts. I have, I thank God, of mine own, wherewith I am better content than they are with all their spoil and robbery. And, if I wanted, I could tell how to live in an honest calling, with better credit in the Church of God than all the lord bishops of England do. And I may safely say, it is so far from me to bring the Church livings into the hands of any but the ministers and officers thereof (2), that I can no more abide Church robbery in a temporal man than I can brook sacrilege in a presumptuous priest; as I hate the one, so I abhor the other.

But, as concerning the laying open of their bishoprics to the spoil of such cormorants as gape for their downfalls, thereby only to enrich themselves, I greatly muse (3) that our prelates will be so overseen (4) as to charge me therewith (5). For it is well known that none of them all, no,

(1) See THE EPITOME, 'Epistle to the Clergy,' p. 118, and *note* (3). The opposition of such representative Puritans as Cartwright and Udall and others to Martin's literary methods is well known. 'The Puritans are angry with me; I mean the Puritan preachers,' he writes, as above cited. See also HAY ANY WORKE, pp. 215, 238; and *infra*, 413.

(2) Bancroft, in his sermon at Paul's Cross, Feb. 9, 1588-9, refers to the alienation of Church property. He alleges against the Puritan clergy the view published in *The Lamentable complaint of the Commonalty* (1585), that money once dedicated to sacred uses should never be converted to secular purposes. He credits the laymen of this faction with saying of ministers, 'If they have a messe of pottage and a canvas dublet, may it not content them?' He gives the lay impropriators of ecclesiastical property astute advice, never to open their mouths against the established government of the Church unless they propose to disgorge 'such spoiles and praies as they have already.'—*Sermon*, pp. 24, 28, 29.

(3) Wonder.

(4) Deceived.

(5) See Bancroft's sermon at Paul's Cross (Feb. 9, 1589), p. 23. He

19 not the proudest priest in the | land, doth so cumber himself in caring how *he* should live, that comes after him; but that now all of them begin prettily, either of their wonted love to themselves, or of their natural spite to their successors, to take such charitable order as that, if they may have their wills, I hope there shall not be much left in a while, to allure any covetous courtier to the spoil (1). Wherein, no dispraise to any, I must needs commend for their forecast in this point a couple of as arrant bishops (for it were pity to bereave the devil of his due commendation) as any the land yieldeth. The men, or rather beasts, that I mean, are John London (2), and Thomas Winchester; whereof the one at Fulham, the other by Whitney in Oxfordshire (3), have so contended in throwing down elms, as if the wager had been, whether of them should most have impoverished their bishoprics. And yet I blame not Mar-Elm, so much as Cooper, for this fact; because it is no less given him by his name to spoil elms, than it is allotted him, by the secret
20 | judgement of God, to mar the Church. Whereas a man of Master Cooper's age and occupation, so well seen (4) in that trade, might easily know that tubs made of green timber, must needs leak out of all cry (5). And yet, now I consider with myself, I do not so greatly marvel at the matter. For he that makes no conscience to be a deceiver, and a false prophet, in the building of the Church, will not

there accuses the critics of the Ecclesiastical Establishment of expecting the spoil of bishops' livings and the subversion of the cathedrals and the plundering of Church revenues. It was this covetousness which was leading men to schism.

(1) Our notes have sufficiently indicated the unprincipled rapacity of the Elizabethan bishops in impoverishing their sees. In this policy of 'grab,' the then Bishop of Hereford, and perhaps not more than two others, seem to be exceptions. It was the regular practice of each newly-appointed bishop to sue the previous occupant of the see, or his heirs, for dilapidations and for the illegal wastage of the episcopal revenues, by bestowing, for merely nominal sums, upon members of his family and others, cathedral manors and farms on long leases

(2) See THE EPISTLE, p. 46, *note* (2), and references given.

(3) This appears to be the only account of Bishop Cooper's destruction of elms at Whitney.

(4) Informed, instructed.

(5) Out of all measure.

stick for his gain to be a deceitful workman in making of tubs.

Well, concerning the care that our prelates have in leaving of things behooveful for their successors, I may truly say that, were it not more for fear of law than for any conscience of the maintenance of the ministry, the whole bishopric, even to-day before tomorrow, would not yield a lord bishop so much as might purchase him an handsome halter to hang himself with, as the poet saith. Therefore let them never talk more for shame, as their T. C. doth, of the care they have that the Church's maintenance should not decay. And (1) as herein their spoil and | robbery is 21
apparent; so, on the other side, their tyranny and bloodthirsty proceedings against good men is unexcusable.

And yet is the *manner* of their proceedings more intolerable and dangerous to the State than their very practices themselves. First, you see, they may examine of what they will. For who can let (2) them, when they be both sole judges and sole witness themselves; and none other by but the poor examinate. To which effect, what is the seat of justice they commonly use in these cases but only some close chamber at Lambeth, or some obscure gallery in London Palace? Where according to the true nature of an evil conscience, that flieth and feareth the light, they may juggle and foist in what they list without controlment; and so attempt, if they will, to induce the party examined to be of a conspiracy with them to pull | the crown off her 22
Majesty's head. And I put case (3) they should do so (as here you see is a way laid open for them to broach any conspiracy in the world): what remedy should the party that stands there alone have by impeaching (4) or complaining?

(1) This sentence to the close of the paragraph is repeated by mistake, except the words 'against good men.' We have altered the position of the word *so*, according to the order of the second form of the sentence. See *Errata* at close.

(2) Hinder.

(3) 'Put case,' *i.e.*, I will put (or suppose) the case that they should do so . . . [then] what remedy, &c.? The 'put-case' was a suppositious case to illustrate a legal point or principle; a *fictio legis*.

(4) M. apeaching.

Any other, trow you, than this?—'He lies like a Puritan knave!' 'I'll have his ears!' 'I'll have the *Scandalum Magnatum* (1) against him! For he hath slandered the High Commission, and the President of her Majesty's Council, namely, my Lord of Canterbury's worship.' And here behold the poor man's reward!

Secondly, you must lay your hand on the Book, and not know whereunto you must be sworn; yea, they be so honest that they will compel you to accuse yourself, or else you shall lie by it; which ungodly practice of theirs savoureth so rankly of the Spanish Inquisition that it is flat contrary to all humanity, the express laws of the land, and the doctrine of our Church. For the law is so far from
23 compelling any to impeach (2) himself, in a cause where | in either life, goods, or good name is called in question, that it altogether condemneth those for oppressors of the common liberty of her Majesty's subjects, and for unreasonable violators and wresters of all good order of justice, that will urge or require any such thing at their hands; as may more at large appear in a plain statute of the 25th of Henry VIII., in the title of Heresy (3). And therefore men may see what account they ought to make of those shameless speeches of that worthy greyhead, Mistress Cooper's husband; who, as he hath been long since too old to blush, so did he not let (4) openly to avouch, that, before God, there was no other way of trial, nor no state could stand and continue without it (5).

To conclude this point. It is too manifest that (i) by these their private whispering examinations in corners, (ii) by the oath thus administered at random, (iii) by the

(1) THE EPISTLE, p. 51, *note* (3).
(2) *Al.* appeach.
(3) The course of events in regard to the oath *ex officio* appears to have been as follows. It was introduced without parliamentary authority by Archbishop Arundel in the reign of Henry IV. It was abrogated by Henry VIII. as soon as Cranmer became Primate. It was restored by Mary, and was again abrogated in the first year of Elizabeth.
(4) Forbear.
(5) This characteristic episcopal sentiment was uttered at the trial of Giles Wigginton. See the full note, THE MINERALLS, § 9, p. 188, *note* (1).

enforcing of men to accuse themselves, our bishops with their wretched favourers may in time (as it is not unlikely but they will) | bring one of these mischievous inconveniencies 24
upon her Majesty's best subjects; viz. either perpetual imprisonment, loss of ears, or some other limb, or else, as I said before, an enforcement to conspire the overthrow of her Majesty's crown and dignity. Whether these matters be not worthy the consideration of the gravest councillors in the land, I leave it to the judgment of every true Englishman that loveth his prince and the liberty of his country (1). But Martin is an intolerable busy fellow for molesting the state of the clergy in this sort!

Now, I hasten to other matters where it may be, good Reader, thou wilt ask what was in that 'Pistle of mine? To tell thee true, I sigh to remember the loss of it, it was so pretty and so witty. And I know if thou hadst it, thou wouldest lay it up among other thy honest recreations for thy delight.

First, then, there was set down for thy learning the true, proper and natural definition, or rather description, of Martinisim; to this effect: That to | be a right Martinist 25
indeed is to be neither Brownist, Cooperist, Lambethist, Schismatic, Papist, Atheist, Traitor, nor yet Lord Bishop (2); but one that is at defiance with all men, whether he be French, Dutch, Spanish, Catercap, Pope or Popeling—so far forth as he is an enemy to God and her Majesty. Whereupon, I remember, I did then ask the reader, whether it were not good being a Martinist; and, as I did then, so do I still heartily rejoice to think that all the honestest and

(1) James Morice, imprisoned for protesting against this intolerant oath, writing to Burghley, warns him as to the unconstitutional and irresponsible accumulation of powers in the hands of the prelacy, and trusts that the Privy Council will consider these things, lest 'as heretofore we praied *From the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, Good Lord deliver us* we bee compelled to pray *From the Tyranny of the Clergy of England, Good Lord deliver us.*'—Camb. Univ. Lib. *MSS.*, Mm. I., 51. See *Hist. Intro.*, 87-89.

(2) It will be noted that in this list *Puritan* is not included, though the general intention of the words is to claim for Martinism the position of entire independence.

best affected subjects of her Majesty hath, will one day become Martinists.

Then among all the rimers (1) and stage-players, which my lords of the clergy had suborned against me, I remember Mar-Martin (2), John a Cant's hobby-horse, was to his reproach, newly put out of the Morris, take it how he will; with a flat discharge for ever shaking his shins about a Maypole again while he lived. Hereabouts I placed Doctor Underhill (3), and Doctor Wood of All Souls' College (4), to be chaplains unto a certain chaste Vicar of Hell, called Sir
26 James King, of | Hertfordshire (5); and somewhere it was, that I so slived (6) Dick Bancroft over the shoulder as his Chaplainship is never able to recover his credit, if that 'Pistle of mine be once published. Next to this, as I take it, followed a preamble to an Epitaph (7), upon the death of old Andrew Turncoat (8), to be sung antiphonically in his Grace's chapel, on Wednesdays and Fridays, to the lament of Orawhynemeg (9).

Then was there a certain vulneral sermon of old Lockwood of Sarum (10), upon the sudden and untimely death of his said brother Perne, wherein he did undertake for him, that

(1) The old spelling is here retained.

(2) See THESES MARTINIANÆ, p. 329, *note* (3); *Hist. Intro.*, 229.

(3) See THE JUST CENSURE, p. 368, *note* (4).

(4) ℳ. 'Alsolne.' This is probably Wm. Wood, a native of Anglesea, who matriculated and was made a fellow of All Souls' in 1577. He became a D.C.L. in 1587 and a member of Doctors' Commons in 1590. See THE EPISTLE, p. 73, *note* (2).

(5) We have not succeeded in identifying the vicar bearing the sinister title.

(6) To cut, especially to slice off; akin to *sleeve* = to cleave or split. Employed in Northamptonshire for slicing the edge of the leather when it is required to be sewn upon another piece. Bancroft was Whitgift's chaplain at this time.

(7) ℳ. cblitaph.

(8) Andrew Perne, who died at Lambeth the previous April. See THE EPISTLE, p. 31, *note* (2).

(9) In the list of ballads stated to be in the library of Dr. Cox there is included 'Over a whinny Meg.'—Shakespeare Soc.'s *Papers*, Vol. IV., p. 19. Replying to Martin's phrase, the author of *Pappe with an Hatchet* (sig. E j. *recl.*) writes, 'Martin tunes his pipe to the lamentable note of *Ora whine Meg.*'

(10) We know nothing further of Lockwood, but he is referred to in *M. Some in his Coulers*, 81, as 'olde Lockwoode of Sarum.' There was a Dr. Henry Lockwood, a Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, in 1545. See *The Correspondence of Abp. Parker*, pp. 25, 26.

he was never Puritan in his life, but always an orderly man, and a maintainer of the state of the clergy.

And if his Grace did appoint any other to preach at his good old master's funeral (1) but only this quick-witted Bridges, he was certainly foully overseen (2). For there would have been such a mess and such a match, such a pair of saints, the one living and the other dead, as I believe the *Legenda Aurea* (3) | would not yield the like; both old 27
standards, both proculstants (4), both catercaps, both priests, both deans, both hypocrites, both asses. Why, sans mercy, said I, &c.—but, alas, 'chave haulf (5) forgotten the rest.

After this, I had a fling at these Puritans, concerning whom my desire is that wherein I am faulty the Puritans would set me down the particulars. It is odds I shall some way or other hear of it. For albeit there have been some jars of unkindness betwixt us; yet I would have you know that I take the worst of you, in regard of his calling, to be an honester man than the best lord bishop in Christendom. The report goeth that some of you have preached against me; and I believe it in part. Well, look to it; for I may happen to be even with you in this manner—I will not rest till I have learned what it is that ye have said of me; and if I find it to be a just reproof, I will mend my fault, be as angry as ye will; if unjust, trust unto it I will hold on my course, and there is one rap more than ye looked for.

| The next pretty thing to this was, to my remembrance, 28
Chaplain Some (6) confuted with the bald sheath of his own

(1) Ms. funerals.
(2) Misled. Bridges' wits were certainly not of the alert kind.
(3) Ms. legende aure. For an account of the *Legenda Aurea*, see THE EPITOME, p. 167, *note* (2).
(4) The composition of the word is evident. It is a punning imitation of *Protestant*. They are not Protestants but procul-stants, men who stand at a distance. Though Martin would not liken them to the Publican in the parable, who, in his humility, 'stood afar off,' *a longe stans*.
(5) I have half, &c.
(6) Dr. Robert Some, Master of Peterhouse. See next page, *notes* (3) and (4).

dagger; wherein all his short cuts, Latin apophthegms (1) and childish pen-and-inkhorn proverbs were wholly inverted upon himself. I then said, and so say I still, that if it were not for those whom our bishops hate and persecute, it is known they would make a mad piece of confuting (of) the Brownists (2) and other sectaries amongst them; as may appear by that which they suffer to come out so nakedly and patchedly against them, by this father Robert of theirs. And this is he that hath crazed his brain at Lambeth, and his conscience at Girton (3); whose bald writings, without sap or edge, unworthy of a boy of twelve year old, have, I am persuaded, made and will make, if it be not looked unto, more Brownists in our Church than all that ever they have hitherto published themselves.

This, if you know him not, is the very same doctor that,
23 in publishing three pretty treatises, hath so handled the | matter by a geometrical dimension, that the last, if it be well scanned, is the same with the first, and the middlemost all one with them both (4). The man, in all likelihood, never

(1) M. apothegs.

(2) Martin indicates that the chief opponents of Robert Browne, the Separatist, the founder of the Congregational or democratic theory of Church government, were Puritans; which is also Browne's own testimony. See the quotation given in HAY ANY WORKE, p. 215, *note* (6).

Bancroft, on p. 75 of his Sermon at Paul's Cross (Feb. 9, 1588-9), refers anonymously to Browne's opinion of the Presbyterian system. If Parliament granted the plea of the Presbyterians there would be not one Pope but a thousand. [Browne's words may be seen in *A New Years Guift*, a treatise by him which Mr. Champlin Burrage discovered in MS., and edited for the Congregational Historical Society.] The anonymous Puritan writer who replied to Bancroft identifies the antagonist of Presbyterianism as Robert Browne. He refers to him as a noted schismatic, worthy, he says to Bancroft, 'to be one of your witnesses against the Eldership. His entertainment in Scotland was such as a proud ungodly man deserved to have.' He hopes Browne and Bancroft may find repentance before the judgment of Christ 'for the slanders you have raised up against His kingdom heere vpon earth.'—*A Briefe Discovery of the Untruthes and Slanders . . . contained in a Sermon preached the* 8 (*sic*) *of Februarie* 1588 by *D. Bancroft*, p. 44.

(3) Dr. Robert Some held the living of Girton, as well as the mastership of Peterhouse.

(4) R. Some published several Tracts bearing the title *A Godly Treatise*. As early as 1582 he issued *Two Treatises; one of the Church and the other against oppression*, reprinted three years later under the joint names of James Pilkington and himself as *Two Godlie and fruitful Treatises*. Then in 1588 came *A Godly Treatise touching the Minis-*

goeth without a little saunce bell (1) in his pocket, and that doth nothing else but, *Ting*, Ting, Ting! And what doth it *Ting*? If you give good ear, nothing else, I warrant you, but 'My sermons,' 'My writings' 'My reasons' 'My arguments'; and all is 'My, My, My'; as if the depth of all learning were included in the channel of his brain. This is even he that, let him write a many books as he will (though he should never so much disguise himself, and conceal his name), yet we should be sure to know him by one of these rapping figures. Either by 'hitting the white,' or by 'missing the butt,' or by 'resting on his reason,' or by thirty-two dozen of full points, or by some such broken wooden dish or other.

Then was there recorded a brave agreement which Martin, of his courtesy, is contented to make with the Bishops; which agreement was taught once in the pulpit, by a certain lame Vicar of | Warwick, a chaplain of their 30
own stamp. His text was out of Matthew (2), *Agree with thine adversary quickly.* 'We have an adversary,' said he. 'Who is that? The devil. How shall we agree with the devil? Even thus', said he; and if you mark, it is a good lesson. 'Shake him off, never come nigh him, nor have nothing to do with him.' Even so, I'll be bound that myself and all the Puritans shall agree with the Bishops while the world stands; on this condition, that we shake them off, never come nigh them, nor have nothing to do with them.

'Twere pity to forget Martin's Tolbooth (3), in the midst

terie, issued the same year in a second edition, with an appendix, answering Penry's Tract, *A defence of that which hath bin written*, as already stated in an earlier note. In the present year (1589) came another *Godly Treatise*, this time against 'Hen. Barrowe and Iohn Greenwood,' and 'other of the Anabaptisticall order.' It is true that they cover much the same ground, but which three books Martin had in his mind is not perfectly clear.

(1) Saunce bell = saint's bell, sometimes called the sacring bell; a small handbell carried by an attendant and rung at certain important moments during the performance of the mass.

(2) Matthew 5^{25}.

(3) A Town Hall, says Halliwell. Generally a prison; as the celebrated Edinburgh Tolbooth. Martin may, however, intend it to bear

whereof were many rare conceits; as, a great ashen chair, wherein John a-Bridges was placed by patent, during his life; and Leonard Wright (1) appointed to keep it clean, by scraping and rubbing the feet of it. Round about this Tolbooth were placed a foul rank of catercaps, conferring and disputing hotly, about the *third declension* (2), the churching of women, or such like matters of life and death.
31 On | the first form sat in rank John, John and William; on the second, Richard, Richard and Thomas; on a (3) third John, William and Marmaduke (4), &c.

After this followed something; a large confutation of Friar Frégueville (5), and of wringle-faced Wright (6); within which compass were contained (i) a manifest proof that reformation importeth the overthrow of the state of clergy, and that, according unto the doctrine of our Church; (ii) an antithesis between our Saviour Christ and that cursed Pope of Lambeth, John Whitgift; (iii) a proof of many of those *Theses* which that unhappy boy of mine published so untimely. But as for him and his elder brother, together with that blind ass Pasquill (7), I will have them talked with elsewhere; with these and such like points, with an honourable mention of all noble soldiers, a complaint of the loss of my papers, and the misery of sea journeys; I ended my 'Pistle, being the first tome of More Work for the Cooper. And here also I end this my

its simple primitive meaning of a house where goods are examined for the levying of toll or custom. In its specialised meaning it is a north-country name.

(1) See Theses Martinianæ, p. 332, *note* (1), and references there given.

(2) Presumably the third class of Latin nouns.

(3) The print is imperfect. The *a* required here appears in the original to be a worn type of the numeral 2.

(4) These Christian names probably refer to John Whitgift, John Aylmer, William Wickham; Richard Fletcher, Richard Barnes, Thomas Cooper; John Bullingham, William Chaderton, Marmaduke Middleton; all contemporary bishops.

(5) See Theses Martinianæ, p. 332, *note* (2).

(6) See above, p. 332, *note* (1). Wringle = wrinkle.

(7) A reply to Theses Martinianæ had just appeared (Aug. 6) entitled *A Countercuffe given to Martin Iunior: by the venturous hardie and renowned Pasquill of Englande.* For further references to Pasquill and his literary efforts, see *Hist. Intro.*, p. 226.

PROTESTATION: desiring thee, good Reader, ac | cording 32
unto thy place to be careful of the relief and deliverance of the distressed printers (1). In requital whereof, if thou canst but learn the dayof my marriage (for as I protested unto thee without all fraud and ambiguity, I was never as yet married in my life) thou shalt be better welcome unto me than the best lord catercap of them all;
and so tell them from me
when thou wilt.

Page 6, line 23, read *single* for *sinule*.

Page 21, there is something twice set down. Mend that thyself if thou wilt; for I promise thee I cannot. Yet hear me a word afore thou goest, an thou be a good fellow, Commend me to George Bullen, Dean of Lichfield, by these four tokens. 1. 'The wind is south, the wind is south.' 2. That he lately taught in Coventry that men might fall from grace. 3. That taking himself with a fault in the same Sermon, he said, 'There I lied, there I lied.' 4. Being at another time in the pulpit hearing his dog cry, he out with his text—'Why, how now? Ho, can you not let my dog alone, there? Come, Spring! Come Spring!' (2).

[The above *errata* have been corrected in the foregoing text. The writer could not correct the repetition on page 21. The present Tract was printed on a very small hand-press, eight pages (sm. 8vo.) at a time. Sheet C in which the error occurs was evidently already struck off.]

(1) The case of Hodgkins and his assistants, Thomlyn and Symms, now in prison, was no doubt a cause of painful anxiety to Martin.

(2) For Dean Bolcyn, or Bullen, see THE EPITOME, p. 156, under *note* (1).

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